

A
C O N C I S E
Ecclesiastical History,

FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE

Beginning of the present Century.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

V O L. IV.

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CONCISE
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THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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IN FOUR VOLUMES

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A CONCISE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

SECTION II.

PART I.

The HISTORY of the more ANCIENT
CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

Containing the History of the Romish Church.

I. CLEMENT VIII. continued to rule the church of Rome at the commencement of this century, having been elected towards the conclusion of the preceding one. The eminent abilities of this pontiff, as also his ardent desire of extinguishing the protestant religion, are universally acknowledged; but it is much questioned whether his prudence was equal to the critical circumstances that arose during his administration. This pontiff had an edition of the *Vulgate* published, which was very different from that of

Pope Sixtus; and this is one of the many instances of the *contrariety* of opinions that has prevailed among the *infallible* heads of the church of Rome. He was succeeded, in the year 1605, by Leo XI. who died a few weeks after his election; and thus left the papal chair open to Paul V. This pontiff was of a haughty and violent spirit, and insatiably furious in his vengeance upon such as encroached on his pretended prerogative, as appears in a striking manner, by his rash and unsuccessful contest with the Venetians. This contest arose, partly from two edicts of the Republic of Venice, for preventing the unnecessary increase of religious buildings, and the augmentation of the enormous wealth of the clergy; and partly from the prosecution of two ecclesiastics, for capital crimes, who had not been delivered up to the pope at his requisition. It is not surprising, that these proceedings should enflame the ambitious fury of a pontiff, who called himself *Vice-God, the monarch of Christendom, and the supporter of papal omnipotence*. Accordingly Paul laid all the dominions of the Republic under an *interdict*, while the Venetians declared that unjust and tyrannical mandate null and void, and banished the Jesuits and Capuchins, who had disobeyed the laws of the state. Preparations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation, not very honourable to the pope, was brought about by the mediation of Henry IV. of France. It was Paul V. that dishonoured his title of *Holiness*, and cast an eternal stain upon his *infallibility*, by an express approbation of the doctrine of Suarez, the Jesuit, in defence of the murder of kings. Gregory XV. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1621, seemed to be of a milder disposition, though

though not less defective in equity and clemency towards those that separated from the church of Rome. An unjust severity against the friends of the Reformation is, indeed, the inevitable character of the Roman pontiffs; for without this they would be destitute of the predominant and distinctive mark of the papacy. Urban VIII. who ascended the papal throne in the year 1623, was a man of letters, an eloquent writer, an elegant poet, and a generous patron of learning; but nothing can equal the barbarity with which he treated all that bore the name of protestants. Yet he may be considered as a good and equitable ruler when compared with Innocent X. who succeeded him in the year 1644. This unworthy pontiff, to a profound ignorance of all those things which it was necessary for a Christian bishop to know, joined the most shameful indolence and the most notorious profligacy. For he abandoned his person, the administration of his temporal affairs, and the government of the church, to Donna Olympia, a woman of corrupt morals, insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition. This Donna Olympia Maldachini was his brother's widow, with whom he had lived, in an illicit commerce, before his elevation to the pontificate, in which his *Holiness* continued afterwards. He was succeeded in the papal chair, in the year 1655, by Alexander VII. who, though less odious than his predecessor, was nevertheless possessed of all the pernicious qualities that are necessary to constitute a true pope. The other parts of his character are drawn, much to his disadvantage, by several eminent writers of the Romish church, who represent him as full of craft and dissimulation, and chargeable with the most shameful levity.

Some writers relate, that while he was in Germany, he had formed the design of abjuring Popery, but was deterred by the example of his cousin, count Pompey, who was poisoned at Lyons, on his way to Germany, after he had abjured the Romish faith. The two Clements IX. and X. who were elected successively to the papacy in the years 1668 and 1669, were concerned in few transactions, that deserve to be transmitted to posterity. This was not the case of Benedict Odeschalchi, known by the denomination of Innocent XI. and raised to the pontificate in the year 1677. This respectable pontiff acquired a very high reputation, by the austerity of his morals, his uncommon courage and resolution, his dislike of the grosser superstitions that reigned in the Romish church, and his attempts to reform the manners of the clergy, and to abolish a considerable number of those fictions and frauds that dishonour their ministry. But it appeared manifestly, by his example, that those pontiffs who respect truth, and act from virtuous and Christian principles, may form noble plans, but will never be able to bring them into execution. By his example it appeared that the wisest institutions and the most judicious establishments will be unable to stand firm, for any considerable time, against the insidious stratagems or declared opposition of a deluded multitude, who are corrupted by the prevalence of licentious morals, and whose imaginations are impregnated with superstitious and pious frauds. All the wise regulations of Innocent XI. were suffered to go to ruin by the criminal indolence of Alexander VIII. An attempt was made to revive them by Innocent XII. a man of uncommon merit, who, in the year 1691, succeeded
Alexander

Alexander in the papal chair; nor were his zealous endeavours absolutely destitute of success. But it was also his fate to learn, by experience, that the most prudent and resolute pontiffs are unequal to such an Herculean labour, as the reformation of the church and court of Rome; nor were the fruits of this good pope's wise administration enjoyed long after his decease. The pontiff, whose reign concluded this century, was Clement XI. He surpassed in learning the whole college of cardinals, and was inferior to none of the preceding pontiffs in sagacity, lenity, and a desire to govern well; but he was far from opposing with proper vigour the inveterate corruptions and superstitious observances of his church.

II. The incredible pains that were taken, by the pontiffs and clergy of the Romish church, to spread their doctrine among Pagan nations, have been already mentioned. We are, therefore, at present, to confine our narration to the schemes they laid to recover the possessions and prerogatives they had lost in Europe. Various were the projects they formed for this purpose. The resources of genius, the force of arms, the most alluring promises, the most formidable threatenings, the wiles of controversy, the influence of pious, and impious frauds, in short, all possible means, fair and disingenuous, were employed for the destruction of the Reformed churches. The plan of a dreadful attack upon the friends of the Reformation had been, for some time, laid in secret, and the bigotted and persecuting house of Austria was pitched upon to put it in execution. However, as injustice is seldom so insolent as not to seek for some pretexts to mask its deformity, so the church of Rome endeavoured before-hand

before-hand to justify the persecution of which the flame was ready to break out. For this purpose the pens of the perfidious Scioppius and others were employed, to represent the treaty of peace, made between Charles V. and the Protestants of Germany, as unjust, and made void by the Protestants themselves departing from the Confession of Augsburg. This injurious charge was proved groundless by several Lutheran doctors, who, of their own accord, defended their communion against this instance of popish calumny; and it was also refuted by public authority, even by the express order of John George, elector of Saxony.

III. The first flames of that religious war, which the Roman pontiffs proposed to carry on by the Austrians and Spaniards, broke out in Austria, where, about the commencement of this century, the friends of the Reformation were cruelly persecuted by the Roman-catholics. The solemn treaties and conventions, by which the religious liberty and civil rights of these Protestants had been secured, were trampled upon and violated in the most shocking manner; nor had these unhappy sufferers resolution or strength sufficient to maintain their privileges. The Bohemians, who were involved in the same vexations, proceeded in a different manner. Perceiving plainly, that the votaries of Rome aimed at nothing less than to deprive them of that religious liberty that had been purchased by the blood of their ancestors, and so lately confirmed to them by an imperial edict, they came to a resolution of opposing force to force. Accordingly, a league was formed by the Bohemian Protestants, and they began to avenge, with great spirit and resolution, the injuries that had

had been committed against their persons, their families, their religion, and their civil rights and privileges. But it must be confessed, that, in this just attempt to defend what was dear to them as men and Christians, they carried their resentment beyond the bounds both of reason and religion. The death of the emperor Matthias, which happened in the year 1619, furnished them, as they thought, a fair opportunity of striking at the root of the evil, and removing the source of their calamities, by choosing a sovereign of the Reformed religion; for they considered themselves as authorized by the ancient laws of the kingdom to reject any that pretended to the throne by virtue of an hereditary right, and to demand a prince, whose title to the crown should be derived from the free suffrages of the states. Accordingly Frederick V. elector Palatine, who professed the Reformed religion, was, in the year 1619, chosen king of Bohemia, and solemnly crowned at Prague.

IV. This bold step, from which the Bohemians expected such advantages, proved to them a source of complicated misfortunes. Its consequences were fatal to their new sovereign, and to their own liberties and privileges; for by it they were involved in the most dreadful calamities, and deprived of the free exercise of their religion, which was the ultimate end of all the measures they had pursued. Frederic was defeated, before Prague, by the imperial army, in the year 1620, and by this unfortunate battle was not only deprived of his new crown, but also of his hereditary dominions. Reduced thus to the wretched condition of an exile, he was obliged to leave his fruitful territories to the
merciless

merciless discretion of the Austrians and Bavarians, who plundered and ravaged them with the most rapacious barbarity. The defeat of this unfortunate prince was attended with dreadful consequences to the Bohemians, and more especially to those, who, from a zeal for religious liberty, had embarked in his cause. Some of them were committed to a perpetual prison, others banished for life; several had their estates and possessions confiscated; many were put to death; and the whole nation was obliged, from that fatal period, to bend their unwilling necks under the yoke of Rome. The triumph of the Austrians would neither have been so sudden nor so complete, had they not been powerfully assisted by John George I. elector of Saxony, partly from a principle of hatred towards the Reformed, and partly from considerations of a political kind. By the *Reformed* we are to understand all Protestants that are not of the *Lutheran* persuasion. And here we see a Lutheran elector drawing his sword to support the cause of popery and persecution, against a people generously struggling for the protestant religion, and the rights of conscience. This invasion of the Palatinate was the occasion of that long and bloody war, that was so fatal to Germany, and in which the greatest part of the princes of Europe were, one way or another, unhappily engaged. It began by a confederacy formed between some German powers and the king of Denmark, in order to assert the rights of the elector Palatine.

V. The success of the imperial arms filled the votaries of Rome with the warmest transports of joy. They thought the happy period was now approaching, when the whole tribe of heretics should

should either perish by the sword, or be reduced under the dominion of the church. The emperor, himself, had imbibed no small portion of this spirit, which was prepared to convert or to destroy. The flame of ambition, that burned within him, was nourished by the suggestions of bigotry. Hence he carried his arms through a great part of Germany, and suffered his generals to vex with impunity those princes and states, which refused a blind obedience to the court of Rome. The elector of Saxony's zealous attachment to the emperor, with the lamentable discord, that reigned among the German princes, persuaded the papal faction that the difficulties, which opposed the execution of their project, were far from being invincible. Accordingly the persons concerned in this grand enterprise, began to act their respective parts. In the year 1629, Ferdinand II. to give some colour of justice to this religious war, issued out the terrible *restitution-edict*, by which the Protestants were ordered to restore to the church of Rome, all the possessions they had become masters of in consequence of the *religious peace*, concluded in the preceding century. This edict was principally owing to the Jesuits; and hence arose a warm contest between them and the ancient proprietors. This contest indeed was decided by the law of force. It was the depopulating soldier, who, sword in hand, gave weight to the imperial edict, wresting out of the hands of the lawful possessor, whatever the Romish priests thought proper to claim, and treating the innocent and plundered sufferers with all the severity that the most barbarous spirit of oppression could suggest.

VI. Germany groaned under these dismal scenes of oppression, and looked about for succour in vain. The enemy encompassed her on all sides, and none of her princes seemed qualified to stand forth as the avenger of her injuries, or the assertor of her rights. Some were restrained by bigotry, others by fear, and others again by an ungenerous attention to their own private interest. An illustrious hero, whose name will descend to the latest ages, came forth at this critical season; Gustavus Adolphus took the field, and maintained the cause of the Germanic liberties against the tyranny of the house of Austria. At the request of the French court, he set sail for Germany, in the year 1629, with a small army; and, by his repeated victories, blasted all the hopes which the pope and emperor had entertained of suppressing the Protestant religion in the empire. But in the year 1632, this glorious assertor of Germanic liberty fell in the battle of Lutzen; yet this unspeakable loss was, in some measure, made up by the conduct of those who succeeded Gustavus at the head of the Swedish army. And, accordingly, the war was obstinately carried on, during many years, with various success, until the exhausted treasures of the contending parties, and the pacific inclinations of Christina, the daughter and successor of Gustavus, brought on a treaty of peace.

VII. Thus, after a war of thirty years, the wounds of Germany were closed, and the drooping states of Europe revived, in the year 1648, by the peace of Westphalia, so called from the cities of Munster and Osnaburg, where that famous treaty was concluded. The Protestants, indeed, did not derive from this treaty all the privileges they

they claimed; for the emperor absolutely refused to re-instate the Bohemian and Austrian Protestants in their religious privileges, or to restore the Upper Palatinate to its ancient and lawful proprietor. But they obtained privileges and advantages, which the votaries of Rome beheld with much uneasiness; and it is evident, that the treaty of Westphalia gave a new and remarkable stability to the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany. By this treaty the peace of Augsburg, which the Lutherans had obtained from Charles V. in the preceding century, was firmly secured against all the stratagems of the court of Rome; by it the *restitution-edict* was abrogated, and both the contending parties confirmed in the perpetual possession of whatever they had occupied in the beginning of the year 1624. All this was a source of vexation to the court of Rome, and made it feel the severest pangs of disappointed ambition. The treaty was executed in all its parts; and all the articles, that had been agreed upon at Munster and Osnaburg, were confirmed and ratified in the year 1650 at Nuremburg.

VIII. After this, the court of Rome and its creatures were laid under a considerable restraint. They did not any longer dare to make war in an open manner upon the Protestants. But wherever they could with impunity, they oppressed them in the most grievous manner, and, in defiance of the most sacred obligations, encroached upon their rights, privileges, and possessions. Thus in Hungary, during ten years, both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities. The injuries and insults they suffered at the hands of many, and more es-

pecially of the Jesuits, are not to be numbered. In Poland, all those who differed from the pope, found, during the whole course of this century, that no treaty or convention was held sacred or even regarded at Rome. For many of these were rejected out of their schools, deprived of their churches, robbed of their goods and possessions, under a variety of pretexts, nay, frequently condemned to the most cruel punishments, without having been even chargeable with the appearance of a crime. The remains of the Waldenses, that lived in the vallies of Piedmont, were persecuted often with the most inhuman cruelty (and more especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685) on account of their stedfast attachment to the religion of their ancestors; and this persecution was carried on with all the horrors of fire and sword, by the dukes of Savoy. In Germany, the same spirit of bigotry and persecution produced almost every where flagrant acts of injustice. And indeed, as long as the church of Rome and its pontiff persist in maintaining that they have a right to govern all the churches of the Christian world, so long must those who have renounced their authority, but are more or less within their reach, despair of enjoying the inestimable blessings of security and peace.

IX. The zealous instruments of the court of Rome accomplished now, what had often been attempted without success; by delivering Spain from the infidelity of the Moors, and France from the heresy of the Protestants. The posterity of the Moors or Saracens, who had formerly been masters of great part of Spain, had hitherto lived in that kingdom mixed with the other inhabitants of the country. They were Christians,

at least in their external profession, industrious and inoffensive; and, upon the whole, good and useful subjects; but they were suspected of a secret propensity to the religion of their ancestors. Hence the clergy beset the monarch with their importunate solicitations, and never ceased before a royal edict was obtained to drive the Saracens, whose numbers were prodigious, out of the Spanish territories. This was highly detrimental to the kingdom of Spain, and its pernicious effects are more or less visible even at the present times; but the church, whose interests are, in popish countries, considered as distinct from the interests of the state, acquired new accessions of wealth and power by the expulsion of the Moors. And thus the public good was sacrificed to bigotry and superstition.

In France, the persecuting spirit of the church of Rome exhibited scenes still more shocking. The protestants of that kingdom, after having groaned for a long time under various forms of oppression, and seen multitudes of their brethren put to death by secret conspiracies or open violence, were, at length, obliged either to save themselves by flight, or to profess the Romish religion.

X. All the resources of refined policy, all the efforts of insinuating craft and audacious rebellion, were employed to bring back Great Britain and Ireland under the yoke of Rome. But all these attempts were without effect. About the beginning of this century, a set of execrable wretches, in whose breasts the suggestions of bigotry had suppressed all the feelings of justice and humanity, were infligated by three Jesuits, of whom Garnet, the superior of the society in England, was the chief, to form the most horrid plot that

is known in the annals of history. The design of this conspiracy was nothing less than to destroy at one blow James I. the prince of Wales, and both houses of parliament, by the explosion of an immense quantity of gunpowder, which was concealed, for that purpose, in the vaults that lay under the house of lords. The sanguinary bigots, concerned in it, imagined that, as soon as this horrible deed was performed, they would be at full liberty to restore popery to its former credit. This conspiracy, whose infernal purpose was providentially discovered, when it was ripe for execution, is commonly known in Britain under the denomination of the *gunpowder-treason*.

There is a letter extant, written by Sir Everard Digby, one of the conspirators, to his wife after his condemnation, which deserves an eminent place in the history of superstition and bigotry, and shews abundantly their infernal spirit. "*Now for my intention*, says Digby, *let me tell you, that, if I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world; and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life but zeal to God's religion.*"

The discovery of this infernal plot did not suspend the efforts of the court of Rome, which carried on its schemes in the succeeding reign, but with more caution. Charles I. was a prince of a soft and gentle temper, and was entirely directed by the counsels of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a man who was neither destitute of learning nor good qualities, though he carried things to excessive lengths, through his warm and violent attachment to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the church; the queen,

queen, on the other hand, who was a princess of France, was warmly devoted to the interests of popery; and from all this it seemed probable, that, though violence had failed, yet artifice and mild measures might succeed, and that a reconciliation might be brought about between England and Rome. But this prospect vanished, when the civil war broke out between the king and parliament. In consequence of these commotions, both the unfortunate Charles and his imprudent counsellor Laud were brought to the scaffold; and Oliver Cromwell, a man of unparalleled resolution and foresight, and a declared enemy to every thing that bore the most distant resemblance of popery, was placed at the helm of government, under the title of Protector of the commonwealth of England.

The hopes of Rome and its votaries were, nevertheless, revived by the restoration of Charles II. For that monarch was not much averse to popery, while his only brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, professed it openly. Charles, indeed, had no zeal for any religion. But there was much zeal in his bigotted successor James II; yet accompanied with such excessive vehemence and imprudence as entirely defeated its own purpose: for that inconsiderate monarch, by his passionate attachment to the court of Rome, and his blind obsequiousness to the precipitate counsels of the Jesuits, gave a mortal blow to that religion which he meant to promote, and fell from the throne whose prerogatives he was attempting to augment and extend. Immediately on his accession to the crown, he openly attempted to restore, both in England and Ireland, the authority of the Roman pontiff, which had been annulled by the laws of both realms; and that

he might accomplish this most imprudent purpose, he trampled upon those rights and privileges of his people, that were held most sacred, and which he had bound himself, by the most solemn engagements, to support. Justly exasperated by repeated insults from the throne upon their religion and liberties, and alarmed with apprehension of the approaching ruin of both; the English nation looked about for a deliverer, and fixed its views, in the year 1688, on William, prince of Orange, son-in-law to their despotic monarch, by whose wisdom and valour things were so conducted, that James was obliged to retire from his dominions and to abdicate the crown; and the Roman pontiff, with all his adherents, were disappointed in their fond expectations.

XI. When the more prudent defenders of the Romish faith perceived the ill success that attended all their violent attempts, they thought it expedient to have recourse to softer methods; and instead of conquering the Protestants by open force, proposed deluding them back into the church of Rome by secret artifice. This way of proceeding was approved by many, but they were not all agreed about the manner. Some had recourse to public disputations between the principal doctors of the contending parties; from a notion, that the adversaries of popery would either be vanquished in the debate, or at least look upon the Roman-catholics with less aversion. Others declared it as their opinion, that all contest was to be suspended; that the great point was to find out the proper method of reconciling the two churches; and that, in order to promote this, as little stress as possible was to be laid upon those matters of controversy that had hitherto been looked upon

upon as of the highest moment. A different manner of proceeding was thought more advisable by a third set of men, who, from a persuasion that their doctors had more zeal than argument, and were much more eminent for their attachment to the church of Rome, than for their skill in defending its cause, prepared their combatants with greater care for the field of controversy, and furnished them with a new and subtle method of vanquishing, or at least of perplexing, their heretical adversaries.

XII. There was a famous conference held at Ratisbon, in the year 1601, at the joint desire of Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and Philip Lewis, elector Palatine, between some eminent Lutheran doctors on the one side, and three celebrated Jesuits on the other. The dispute turned upon the two great points, to which almost all the contests between the Protestants and Roman-catholics are reducible, even the *rule of faith* and the *judge of controversies*. In the year 1615, a conference was held at Newburg, between a learned Lutheran and a celebrated Jesuit. But the most famous of all these conferences was that held in the year 1645, at Thorn, by the express order of Uladislaus IV. king of Poland, between several eminent doctors of the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches. This meeting, which was designed to heal the division of these churches, was called the *Charitable Conference*. Besides these public conferences, there were others of a more private nature held between the doctors of the contending churches. The most remarkable of these was the famous dispute between John Claude, the most learned of the Reformed divines in France, and Jaques Benigne de Bossuet,

fuet, whose genius and erudition placed him at the head of the Romish doctors in that country. This dispute, which was held in the year 1683, ended like all the rest. They all widened the breach instead of healing it. Neither of the contending parties could be persuaded to yield; on the contrary, they both returned from the field of controversy more rivetted in their own opinions.

XIII. Those of the Roman-catholics, whose views were turned towards union, did not omit the use of *pious* artifice. They endeavoured to persuade the zealous Protestants and the rigid Catholics, that their differences were less considerable, and less important, than they themselves imagined; and that the true way to put an end to their dissensions, was not to nourish the flames of discord by disputes, but to see whether their systems might not be reconciled, and their apparent inconsistencies removed, by proper and candid explications. They imagined, that an artful exposition of those doctrines of the church of Rome, that appeared the most shocking to the Protestants, would tend much to conquer their aversion to popery. Such was the general principle in which the Romish peace-makers agreed, and such the basis on which they proposed to carry on their operations; but they pursued such different methods in the execution of this perilous stratagem, that the event did not answer their expectations.

The first and most eminent of those who tried the force of their genius in this enterprise, was Cardinal Richelieu, that great minister, who employed all the influence of promises and threatenings, all the powers of sophistry and eloquence, all the arts of persuasion, in order to bring back the French Protestants into the bosom

bosom of the Romish church. The example of this illustrious prelate was followed by other divines. But of all modern adepts in controversy, none pursued this method with such dexterity as Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, a man of true genius, directed by the most consummate circumspection. The famous *Exposition of the Roman-catholic Faith*, that was drawn up by this subtle author, was designed to shew the Protestants that their reasons against returning to the bosom of the Romish church would be easily removed, provided they would view the doctrines of that church in their true light, and not as they had been erroneously represented by the Protestant writers. But his book was formally condemned by the university of Louvain, in the year 1685, and declared to be *scandalous and pernicious*. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book; though they have since changed their opinion, and thus given a new instance of the *variations* that reign in the Romish church, which boasts so much of its uniformity. The artifice that was employed in the composition of this book, and the tricks that were used in the suppression and alteration of the first edition, have been detected with great sagacity by the learned and excellent Archbishop Wake, in the *Introduction* to his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the church of England*. See also his two *Defences* of that *Exposition*, in which the perfidious sophistry of Bossuet is unmasked and refuted in the most satisfactory manner. There was an excellent answer to Bossuet's book published by M. De la Bastide, one of the most eminent Protestant ministers in France. This answer the French prelate took no notice of, during eight years;

at the end of which he published an advertisement, in a new edition of his *Exposition*, which was designed to remove the objections of La Bastide. The latter replied in such a demonstrative and victorious manner, that the learned bishop, notwithstanding all his eloquence and art, was obliged to quit the field of controversy. It is remarkable, that all these pacific attempts to re-unite the two churches, were made by the persons now mentioned, on their own private authority; they were not avowed by the higher powers, who alone were qualified to remove, modify, or explain away those doctrines and rites of the Romish church, that shocked the Protestants and justified their separation.

XIV. The Romish peace-makers found among the Protestants certain doctors, who, by a natural propensity to union, were disposed to enter into their plan, and to assist them in the execution of it. Among the French Protestants, Lewis Le Blanc and his disciples were suspected of an inclination to go too great lengths in this matter. The same accusation was brought against Huiffeaux, professor of divinity at Saumur. Among the British divines, this propensity to diminish the absurdities of popery was less remarkable; William Forbes was the principal person, who discovered an extreme facility to compose a considerable number of the differences that perpetuated the separation between the two churches. With respect to the Dutch, it is known, how ardently the great and learned Grotius desired the re-union of all Christian churches, in one general bond of concord, and with what zeal he endeavoured to reform some enormities of the church of Rome, and to excuse others. But these and all the other arbitrators derived

derived no other fruit from their well-intended labours, than the displeasure of both the contending parties, and the bitter reproaches of their respective churches.

In the number of the Protestant doctors who discovered much zeal for the re-union of these churches, many place George Calixtus, a man of eminent learning, and professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt. It is nevertheless certain, that this great man exposed the corruptions of popery with a degree of learning and perspicuity that was scarcely surpassed by any writer of this century, and persisted steadfastly in maintaining, that the decrees and anathemas of the council of Trent had banished all hopes of a reconciliation between the Protestant churches and the see of Rome. It is true, that Calixtus looked upon some of the controversies that divided the two communions with much more moderation than was usual, and decided them in a manner not suited to the spirit of the times; he was also of opinion, that the church of Rome had not destroyed the principles of Christianity, but had only deformed them with its senseless fictions, and buried them under a heap of rubbish. It was undoubtedly on this account, that he has been ranked by some in the class of the imprudent peace-makers.

XV. The various attempts of the votaries of Rome, though they gave abundant exercise to the activity and vigilance of the Protestant doctors, were not, however, attended with any important revolutions, or any considerable fruits. Some princes, indeed, and a few learned men, were thereby seduced into the communion of that church; but these defections were only personal, nor was any people or province engaged

engaged to follow these examples. Among the more illustrious deserters of the Protestant religion, were Christina, queen of Sweden, a princess of great spirit, but precipitate and vehement in almost all her proceedings, and preferring her ease, pleasure, and liberty to all other considerations; Wolfgang William, count Palatine of the Rhine; Christian William, marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, prince of Hesse; John Frederick, duke of Brunswick; and Frederick Augustus, king of Poland.

XVI. The Christian churches in the East, which were independent on the yoke of Rome, did not stand less firm against the attempts of the papal missionaries. The pompous accounts which several Roman-catholic writers have given of the wonderful success of these missionaries among the Nestorians and Monophysites, are little else than splendid fables, designed to amuse and dazzle the multitude; and many of the best of the Roman-catholic doctors acknowledge, that they ought to be considered in no other light. As little credit is to be given to those, who mention the strong propensity discovered by several of the heads and superintendants of the Christian sects in these remote regions, to submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. It is evident on the contrary, that Rome, in two remarkable instances, suffered a considerable diminution of its authority in the eastern world. One of these instances was the dreadful revolution in Japan, which was followed by the total extinction of Christianity in that great monarchy. The other was the downfall of popery by the extirpation of its missionaries in the empire of Abyssinia; of which it will not be improper to give a brief account.

About

About the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Jesuits renewed the mission to Abyssinia that had been, for some time before, interrupted. For the Emperor Susneus, who assumed the denomination of Selam Segued, after the defeat of his enemies and his accession to the crown, covered the missionaries with his peculiar protection. Gained over to their cause, partly by the eloquence of the Jesuits, and partly by the hopes of maintaining himself upon the throne by the succours of the Portuguese, he committed the whole government of the church to Alphonso Mendez, a missionary from that nation, created him patriarch of the Abyssinians, and not only swore, in a public manner, allegiance to the Roman pontiff in the year 1626, but moreover obliged his subjects to abandon the religious rites and tenets of their ancestors, and to embrace the doctrine and worship of the Romish church. But the new *patriarch* ruined, by his intemperate zeal, the cause in which he had embarked. For he began his ministry with the most inconsiderate acts of violence and despotism. Following the spirit of the Spanish *inquisition*, he employed threatenings and tortures to convert the Abyssinians; the greatest part of whom, together with their priests and ministers, held the religion of their ancestors in the highest veneration, and were willing to part with their lives and fortunes rather than forsake it. He also ordered those to be re-baptized, who, in compliance with the orders of the emperor, had embraced the faith of Rome, as if their former religion had been nothing more than a system of paganism. This the Abyssinian clergy looked upon as a shocking insult upon the religious discipline of their ancestors, as even more provoking

than the barbarities practised against those who refused to submit to the papal yoke. Nor did the insolent patriarch rest satisfied with these despotick proceedings in the church; he excited tumults in the state, and, with an unparalleled spirit of rebellion and arrogance, encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, and attempted to give law to the emperor himself. Hence arose civil commotions, conspiracies, and seditions, which excited in a little time the indignation of the emperor, and the hatred of the people against the Jesuits, and produced at length, in the year 1631, a public *declaration* from the throne, by which the Abyssinian monarch annulled the orders he had formerly given in favour of popery, and left his subjects at liberty, either to persevere in the doctrine of their ancestors, or to embrace the faith of Rome. This rational declaration was mild and indulgent towards the Jesuits, considering the treatment their insolence had justly deserved; and, in the following reign, much severer measures were employed against them. Basilides, the son of Segued, who succeeded his father in the year 1632, no sooner ascended the throne, than he thought it expedient to rid his dominions of these troublesome guests; and accordingly, in the year 1634, he banished from Ethiopia the Patriarch Mendez, with all the Jesuits and Europeans that belonged to his retinue, and treated the Roman-catholic missionaries with excessive severity. From this period, the very names of Rome, its religion, and its pontiff, were objects of the highest aversion among the Abyssinians, who guarded their frontiers with the greatest vigilance, lest any Jesuit or Romish missionary should steal into their territories, and excite new tumults and commotions

commotions. The Roman pontiffs, indeed, made more than one attempt to recover the authority they had lost. They began by sending two Capuchin monks to repair their loss; but these unfortunate wretches were no sooner discovered than they were stoned to death. They afterwards employed more artful and clandestine methods of reviving the missions, and had recourse to the influence of Lewis XIV. king of France, to procure admission for their emissaries into the Abyssinian empire; but these attempts have hitherto proved unsuccessful, nor have the pontiffs or their votaries been as yet able to calm the resentment of that exasperated nation, or to conquer its reluctance against the worship and jurisdiction of the church of Rome.

XVII. Hitherto we have confined our views to the external condition of the church of Rome, and to the good or ill success that attended its endeavours to extend its dominion in different parts of the world. It will be now proper to consider this church in its internal constitution, its polity, discipline, institutions, and doctrine. Its ancient form of government still remained; but its pontiffs and bishops lost, in many places, no small part of their extensive authority. The halcyon days were now over, in which the papal clergy excited with impunity seditious tumults in the state, intermeddled openly in the transactions of government, struck terror into the hearts of sovereigns and subjects by the thunder of their anathemas, and, imposing burthen some contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by tyranny and oppression. The pope himself, though still honoured with the same pompous titles, found frequently, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification.

nification. For now almost all the princes and states of Europe had adopted that important maxim, that had been formerly peculiar to the French nation: *that the power of the Roman pontiff is confined to matters of a religious nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatsoever, extend to civil transactions.* In the schools, indeed, and colleges of Roman-catholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish priests and doctors, the majesty of the pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms. The Jesuits, also, who have been always ambitious of a distinguished place among the assertors of the power of the Roman see, raised their voices, in this ignoble cause, even above those of the schools and colleges. Nay, even in the courts of sovereign princes, high-sounding phrases were sometimes used, to express the dignity and authority of the head of the church. But he was extolled in words, by those who despised him most in reality; and when any dispute arose between him and the princes of his communion, the latter respected his authority no further than they found expedient for their own purposes.

XVIII. This the Roman pontiffs learned by experience, as often as they endeavoured, during this century, to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. The conduct of Paul V. and the consequences of it, furnish a striking example of this. This haughty pontiff laid the republic of Venice under an *Interdict* in the year 1606. The reasons alledged for this insolent proceeding, were the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes; as also two wise edicts, one of which prohibited the erection of any more religious edifices

edifices in the Venetian territories, without the knowledge and consent of the senate; and the other, the alienation of any estates in favour of the clergy, without the express approbation of the Republic. The Venetian senate received this papal insult with dignity, and conducted themselves with becoming resolution. Their first step was to prevent their clergy from executing the *Interdict*, by an act prohibiting the cessation of public worship, and of the sacraments. Their next step was equally vigorous; for they banished from their territories the Jesuits and Capuchin friars, who obeyed the orders of the pope, in opposition to their commands. In the process of this controversy, they employed their ablest pens, and particularly that of the learned and ingenious Paul Sarpi, of the Order of *Servites*, to demonstrate, on the one hand, the justice of their cause, and to determine, on the other, the true limits of the Roman pontiff's authority. The arguments of these writers were so strong, that Baronius and the other learned advocates, whom the pope had employed in supporting his pretensions, struggled in vain against their irresistible evidence. In the mean time, all things tended to a rupture, and Paul V. was gathering together his forces in order to make war upon the Venetians, when Henry IV. king of France, interposed as mediator, and concluded a peace, between the contending parties, on conditions not very honourable to the ambitious pontiff. For the Venetians could not be persuaded to repeal the edicts and resolutions they had issued out against the court of Rome, nor to recal the Jesuits from their exile. At the time of this rupture, the senate of Venice entertained serious thoughts of a total separation from the

church

church of Rome, in which the ambassadors of England and Holland did all that was in their power to confirm them. But many considerations intervened to prevent the execution of this design.

XIX. Had the Portuguese acted with the same wisdom and resolution, their contest with the court of Rome, which begun in the year 1641, and was carried on until the year 1666, would have been terminated in a manner equally disadvantageous to the haughty pontiffs. The Portuguese, unable to bear any longer the oppression of the Spanish government, threw off the yoke, and chose Don John duke of Braganza, for their king. Urban VIII. and his successors in the see of Rome obstinately refused, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations both of the French and Portuguese, either to acknowledge Don John's title to the crown, or to confirm the bishops, whom this prince had named to fill the vacant sees in Portugal. Hence it happened, that the greatest part of the kingdom remained for a long time without bishops. The pretended vicar of Christ, whose character ought to set him above the fear of man, was so slavishly apprehensive of the resentment of the king of Spain, that, rather than offend that monarch, he violated the most solemn obligations of his station, by leaving such a number of churches without pastors. The French and other European courts advised the new king of Portugal to follow the example of the Venetians, and to assemble a national council, by which the new-created bishops might be confirmed, in spite of the pope. Don John seemed disposed to listen to their counsels, but his enterprising spirit was checked by the formidable

midable power of the *inquisition*, the incredible superstition of the people, and the blind zeal and attachment that the nation, in general, discovered for the authority of the Roman pontiff. Hence the popes continued their insults with impunity; and it was not before the peace concluded between Portugal and Spain, five and twenty years after this revolution, that the bishops nominated by the king, were confirmed by the pope. It was under the pontificate of Clement IX. that an accommodation was brought about between the courts of Portugal and Rome. It must indeed be observed, to the honour of the Portuguese, that, notwithstanding their superstitious attachment to the court of Rome, they vigorously opposed its pontiff in all his attempts to draw from this contest an augmentation of his power in that kingdom; nor did the bishops permit, in their respective sees, any encroachment to be made, at this time, upon the privileges and rights of their monarchs.

XX. There had subsisted, during many preceding ages, an almost uninterrupted misintelligence between the French monarchs and the Roman pontiffs, which had often occasioned an open rupture. The greatest exertions of industry, artifice, and assiduous labour, were employed by the popes, during the whole of this period, to conquer the aversion that the French had conceived against the authority of the court of Rome, and to undermine imperceptibly, and destroy by degrees, the *liberties of the Gallican church*. In this enterprise, the Jesuits acted a principal part, and seconded, with all their craft, the designs of the pontiffs. But these attempts were effectually disconcerted by the parliament of

of Paris; while many able pens exposed the tyranny and injustice of the papal claims. They appealed to the ancient decrees of the Gallican church, which they confirmed by recent authorities. It will naturally be thought, that these bold defenders of the liberties both of church and state were amply rewarded, by peculiar marks of the approbation of the court of France. But this was so far from being the case, that they received, from time to time, several marks of its resentment, designed to appease the rage of the threatening pontiff, whom it was thought expedient to treat sometimes with artifice. Rome, however, gained but little by this mild policy of the French court. For it has been always a prevailing maxim with the monarchs of that nation, that their prerogatives are to be defended against the encroachments of the Roman pontiffs with as little noise and contention as possible; and that pompous memorials and vehement remonstrances are to be carefully avoided. Nor do these princes think it beneath their dignity to yield, more or less, to time and occasion, and even to pretend a mighty veneration for the authority of the pontiffs. But they are, nevertheless, constantly on their guard; and, as soon as they perceive the court of Rome taking advantage of their lenity to extend its dominion, they then resume the language that becomes the monarchs of a nation, that could never bear the oppression of the papal yoke. All this appears in the contests, between the courts of France and Rome under the reign of Lewis XIV.

XXI. The first of these contests happened under the pontificate of Alexander VII. and was owing to the insolence of his Corsican guards, who, in the year 1662, insulted the French ambassador

ambassador and his lady, the duke and dutchess of Crequi, at the instigation, as it is supposed, of the pope's nephews. Lewis demanded satisfaction for this: and, on the pope's delaying to answer this demand, actually ordered his troops to file off for Italy, and to besiege the pontiff in his capital. The latter, terrified by these preparations, implored the clemency of the incensed monarch, who concluded a peace with him at Pisa, in the year 1664, upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. These conditions were, that the pope should send his nephew to Paris, in the character of a suppliant for pardon; that he should brand the Corsican guards with perpetual infamy, and break them by a public edict; and should erect a pyramid at Rome, with an inscription to preserve the memory of this audacious instance of papal insolence, and of the exemplary manner in which it was chastised and humbled by the French monarch. But Lewis did not chastise Alexander as head of the church; but as a temporal prince, violating the law of nations. He however shewed on other occasions, that, when provoked, he was as much disposed to humble *papal* as *princely* ambition, and that he feared the *head of the church*, as little as the *temporal ruler* of the ecclesiastical state. This appeared by the warm debate he had with Innocent XI. considered in his *spiritual* character, which began about the year 1678, and was carried on with great animosity for several years after. The subject of this controversy was a *right*, called, in France, *the regale*, by which the French king, upon the death of a bishop, laid claim to the revenues of his see, until a new bishop was elected. Lewis was desirous that all the churches in his dominions should be subject to

to the *regale*. Innocent pretended that this claim could not be granted. Thus the claims of the prince and the remonstrances of the pontiff, both urged with warmth, formed a violent contest which was carried on, on both sides, with resolution. The pontiff sent forth his bulls and mandates. The monarch opposed their execution by severe edicts against all who dared to treat them with the smallest regard. When the pontiff refused to confirm the bishops that were nominated by the monarch, the latter took care to have them consecrated and inducted into their respective sees; and thus, in some measure, declared to the world, that the Gallican church could govern itself without the Roman pontiff. Innocent XI. a man of a high spirit, did not lose courage at a view of these resolute proceedings; but issued out bull after bull, and did every thing in his power to convince his adversaries, that the intrepidity, which formerly distinguished the rulers of the Romish church, was not yet totally extinguished. This obstinacy, however, only served to add fuel to the indignation and resentment of Lewis. And accordingly, that monarch summoned the famous assembly of bishops, which met at Paris, in the year 1682. In this convocation, the ancient doctrine of the Gallican church, that declares the power of the pope to be *merely* spiritual, and also inferior to that of a general council, was drawn up anew in four propositions, which were solemnly adopted by the whole assembly, and were proposed to the whole body of the clergy, and to all the universities throughout the kingdom, as a sacred and inviolable rule of faith. But even this respectable decision, which gave such a mortal wound

wound to the authority of Rome, did not shake the constancy of its resolute pontiff.

Another contest arose, some time after this, between these two princes. This broke out in the year 1687, when Innocent XI. wisely resolved to suppress the *right of asylum* that had formerly been enjoyed by the ambassadors residing at Rome, and had, on many occasions, proved a sanctuary for rapine, violence, and injustice, by procuring impunity for the most heinous malefactors. This *right of asylum* extended much further than the ambassador's palace, whose immunity the pope did not mean to violate; it comprehended a considerable extent of ground, which was called a *quarter*, and undoubtedly gave occasion to great and crying abuses. The marquis De Lavardin refused, in the name of the French king, to submit to this new regulation; and Lewis took all the violent methods, that pride could invent, to oblige the pontiff to restore to his ambassador those immunities. Innocent persisted in his purpose, opposed the king's demands in the most open and intrepid manner, and could not be wrought upon by any consideration to yield, even in appearance. His death, however, put an end to the debate. His successors, being men of a more complaisant disposition, were less averse to the concessions that were necessary to bring about a reconciliation. They were not, indeed, so far unmindful of the papal dignity and interests, as to patch up an agreement on inglorious terms. On the one hand, the right of *asylum* was suppressed with the king's consent; on the other, the right of the *regale* was settled with certain modifications. The four famous *propositions*, relating to the pope's authority, were softened, by the king's permission,

permission, in private letters addressed to the pontiff; but they were neither abrogated by the prince, nor renounced by the clergy; on the contrary, they still remain in force among the laws of the kingdom.

XXII. The corruptions that had been complained of in preceding ages, both in the higher and inferior Orders of the Romish clergy, were rather increased than diminished during this century, as the most impartial writers of that communion confess. The bishops were rarely indebted for their elevation to their learning or superior merit. The intercession of potent patrons, services rendered to men in power, connexions of blood, and simoniacal practices, were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment; and, what was still more deplorable, their promotion was sometimes owing to their vices. Their lives were such as might be expected from persons, who had risen in the church by such means; for had they been obliged, by their profession, to give public examples of those vices which the holy laws of the Gospel expressly condemn, instead of exhibiting patterns of sanctity and virtue to their flock, they could not have conducted themselves otherwise than they did. Some indeed there were, who displayed a true Christian zeal, in administering useful instruction and exhibiting pious examples to the flock. But these rare patrons of virtue were either ruined by the resentment and stratagems of their exasperated brethren, or were left in obscurity, without the support, requisite to enable them to execute effectually their laudable purposes. The same treatment fell to the lot of those among the lower clergy, who endeavoured to maintain the cause of virtue. But the number of sufferers in
this

this noble cause was small, compared with the multitude of corrupt ecclesiastics, whose lives were spent in scenes of pleasure, or in the toils of avarice and ambition. But some even of the Roman pontiffs, in this century, used their most zealous endeavours to reform the manners of the clergy, or, at least, to oblige them to observe the rules of external decency. It is, however, matter of surprise, that these pontiffs did not perceive the unsurmountable obstacles to the success of their counsels, and the fruits of their wise edicts, that arose from the internal constitution of the Romish church, and the very nature of the papal government. For were the Roman pontiffs even divinely inspired, yet unless this inspiration were attended with a miraculous power, and with the supernatural privilege of being present in many places at the same time; it is not conceivable how they should ever entertain a notion of the possibility of restoring or maintaining order, or good morals, among that prodigious multitude of persons that are subject to their jurisdiction.

XXIII. Though the monks, in several places, behaved with more decency, than in former times, yet they had every where departed from the primitive laws of their institutions. About the commencement of this century, their convents and colleges made a most wretched figure, as we learn from the accounts of the wisest and most learned even of their own writers. But we find, further on, several attempts made to remove this disorder. The first were made by some pious Benedictines, who, in France and other countries, *reformed* several monasteries of their Order, and endeavoured to bring them back, as near as was possible, to the discipline of their founder. Their example was

followed by the monks of Clugni, the Cistercians, the regular canons, the Dominicans and Franciscans. It is from this period that we are to date the division of the monastic Orders into two general classes; one of these comprehends the *Reformed* monks, who, reclaimed from that licentiousness that had formerly dishonoured their societies, lead more strict and regular lives, and discover in their conduct a greater regard to the primitive laws of their Order. The other is composed of the *Un-reformed* Orders, who, forgetting the rules of their institute, spend their days in ease and pleasure, and have no taste for the austerities of the monastic life. But the greatest part, even of the *Reformed* monks, do not only come short of that purity of manners which their *rule* enjoins, but are gradually and imperceptibly relapsing into their former indolence and disorder.

XXIV. Among the *Reformed* monks, a particular degree of attention is due to certain Benedictine societies, or *congregations*, who surpass all the other monastic Orders both in the excellence of their rules, and in the zeal with which they adhere to them. The most famous of these societies is the *Congregation of St. Maur*, which was founded in the year 1620. It does not indeed appear, that even this society adheres strictly to the maxims of Benedict, whose name it bears, nor is it beyond the reach of censure in other respects; but these imperfections are compensated by the great number of excellent rules that are observed in it, and by the regular lives and learned labours of its members. It must be known to those who have any acquaintance with the progress of learning in Europe, what signal advantages the
Republic

Republic of letters has derived from the establishment of this famous *Congregation*, whose researches have taken in the whole circle of science.

XXV. Though these pious attempts to reform the monasteries were not entirely unsuccessful, yet the effects they produced, even in those places where they had succeeded most, came far short of that austerity that had seized the imaginations of a set of persons, whose number is considerable in the Romish church. These rigid censors, having always in their eye the ancient discipline of the monastic Orders, looked upon the changes above-mentioned as imperfect and trifling. They considered a monk as a person obliged, by the sanctity of his profession, to spend his whole days in prayers, contemplation, silence, the perusal of holy books, and bodily labour. This severe plan of monastic discipline was adopted by the Jansenists, who reduced it to practice in certain places, and in none with more success and reputation than in the female convent of Port-Royal, where it has subsisted from the year 1618 until our time. These steps of the Jansenists excited a spirit of emulation, and several monasteries exerted themselves in the imitation of this model; but they were all surpassed by the famous Bouthillier de Rance, abbot de la Trappe, who, with the most ardent zeal attended with uncommon success, introduced into his monastery this discipline. This illustrious abbot shewed very early an extraordinary genius for the *Belles-Lettres*. At the age of ten, he was master of several of the Greek and Roman poets, and understood Homer perfectly. At the age of twelve or thirteen, he gave an edition of Anacreon, with

learned Annotations. Some writers alledge, that he had imbibed the voluptuous spirit of that poet, and that his subsequent application to the study of theology in the Sorbonne did not extinguish it entirely. They also attribute his conversion to a singular incident. They tell us, that returning from the country, after six weeks absence from a lady whom he loved passionately (and not in vain,) he went directly to her chamber by a back stair, without having the patience to make any previous enquiry about her health and situation. On opening the door, he found the chamber illuminated and hung with black;—and, on approaching to the bed,—saw the most hideous spectacle that could be presented to his eyes: he saw his fair mistress in her shroud—dead of the small-pox—all her charms fled—and succeeded by the ghastly lines of death, and the frightful marks of that terrible disorder.—From that moment our abbot retired from the world, repaired to La Trappe, the most gloomy, barren, and desolate spot in the whole kingdom of France, and there spent the forty last years of his life in perpetual acts of the most austere piety. His society observed the severe and laborious rule of the ancient Cistercians, whom they even surpassed in abstinence, mortifications, and self-denial. This Order still subsists, under the denomination of the *Reformed Bernardins* of La Trappe, and has several monasteries both in Spain and Italy; but it is degenerating gradually from the austere discipline of its famous founder.

XXVI. The Romish church, from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise during this

this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those, which have obtained some degree of fame.

We begin with the *Fathers of the oratory of the Holy Jesus*, a famous Order, instituted by Cardinal Berulle, a man of genius and talents. This order, founded in the year 1613, has produced a considerable number of persons eminent for their piety, learning, and eloquence, and still maintains its reputation in this respect. The priests who enter into this society are not obliged to renounce their property or possessions, but only to refuse all ecclesiastical cures or offices to which any fixed revenues or honours are annexed, as long as they continue members of this fraternity, from which they are at liberty to retire whenever they think proper. While they continue in the Order, they are bound to perform, with the greatest accuracy, all the priestly functions, and to turn the whole bent of their zeal and industry to one single point, even the preparing themselves and others for discharging them daily with greater perfection and more abundant fruits. But, in later times, the Fathers of the oratory have not confined themselves to this single object, but have imperceptibly extended their original plan to the study of polite literature and theology.

After these *Fathers*, the next place is due to the *Priests of the Missions*, an Order founded by Vincent de Paul, and formed into a regular congregation in the year 1632. The rule prescribed to this society, by its founder, lays its members under the three following obligations: *First*, to aspire daily to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, the pe-

usal of pious books, and other devout exercises: *Secondly*, to employ eight months of the year in the villages, and, in general, among the country-people, in order to instruct them in the principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety, accommodate their differences, and administer relief to the sick and indigent: *Thirdly*, to govern the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders receive their education, and to instruct the candidates for the ministry in the sciences that relate to their vocations.

The *Priests of the missions* were also intrusted with the direction and government of a Female Order, called *Virgins of love*, or *Daughters of charity*, whose office it was to administer assistance to indigent persons, who were confined to their beds by sickness and infirmity. This Order was founded by a noble virgin, whose name was Louisa le Gras, and received, in the year 1660, the approbation of Pope Clement IX.—*The Brethren and Sisters of the Christian schools* were formed into a society in the year 1678, and obliged to devote themselves to the education of poor children of both sexes.

XXVII. All the different branches of literature received, during this century, in the more polished Roman-catholic countries, a new degree of improvement. France, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands produced several men eminent for their genius and acquaintance with the learned languages. This happy circumstance must not, however, be attributed to the methods of public education. It was beyond the borders of these pedantic seminaries, that genius was encouraged and directed by eminent patrons of science, who opened new paths to the attainment of solid learning. The French bore a distinguished part in

in this literary reformation. Excited by their native force of genius, and animated by the encouragement that learning received from Lewis XIV. they cultivated with success almost all the branches of literature, and, rejecting the barbarous jargon of the schools, exhibited learning under an elegant and alluring form, and thereby multiplied the number of its votaries.

XXVIII. But it was long before the court of Rome, which beheld with terror whatever bore the smallest aspect of novelty, could think of consenting to the introduction of a more rational philosophy, or permit the modern discoveries to be explained in the public seminaries of learning. This appears sufficiently from the fate of Galilei, the famous mathematician of Florence, who was cast into prison by the court of *Inquisition* for adopting the sentiments of Copernicus. Yet Des Cartes and Gassendi excited a spirit of liberty and emulation that changed the face of science in France. It was under the auspicious influence of these, that several eminent men of that nation dared to consult the dictates of reason and experience, in the investigation of truth.

Towards the conclusion of this century, many eminent men, in Italy and in other countries, followed the example of the French, in venturing into the paths that were newly opened for the investigation of truth. This desertion of the old philosophy was at first attended with that timorousness and secrecy, that arose from apprehensions of the displeasure of the court of Rome; but, as soon as it was known that the Roman pontiffs beheld with less jealousy the new discoveries in metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy, the deserters broke their chains

chains with greater confidence, and proceeded with greater boldness in the pursuit of truth.

XXIX. If we take 'an accurate view of the religious system of the Romish church, during this century, both with respect to faith and practice, we shall find, that, instead of being improved by being brought somewhat nearer to that perfect model that is exhibited in the Holy Scriptures, it had contracted new degrees of corruption in most places, partly by the negligence of the Roman pontiffs, and partly by the dangerous maxims and influence of the Jesuits. This is not only the observation of those who have renounced the Romish communion; it is the complaint of the wisest and worthiest part of that communion, of all its members who have a zeal for genuine piety.

XXX. The flame of controversy, which seemed extinguished, broke out again with new violence in the year 1640, and formed a kind of schism in the church of Rome, which involved it in great perplexity. The occasion of these new troubles was the publication of a book, entitled, *Augustinus*, composed by Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, and published after the death of the author. In this book, the doctrine of Augustine, concerning man's *natural corruption* and the *nature* and *efficacy* of that *Divine Grace*, which alone can efface this unhappy stain, is unfolded at large, and illustrated; for the most part, in Augustine's own words. No incident could be more unfavourable to the cause of the Jesuits, and the progress of their religious system, than the publication of this book; and they could scarcely consider it in any other light, than as a tacit refutation of their opinions concerning *Human Liberty* and *Divine Grace*. And, accordingly, they not only drew their

their pens against this famous book, but also used their most zealous endeavours to obtain a public condemnation of it from Rome. Their endeavours were not unsuccessful. The Roman inquisitors began the opposition by prohibiting the perusal of it, in the year 1641; and in 1642, Urban VIII. condemned it by a solemn bull, as infected with several errors.

XXXI. There were, nevertheless, places, even within the bounds of the Romish church, where this bull was not in the least respected. The doctors of Lovain, in particular, opposed the condemnation of Jansenius; and hence arose a warm contest in the Belgic provinces. But it was not confined within such narrow limits; it reached the neighbouring countries, and broke out, with peculiar vehemence, in France, where the abbot of St. Cyran, a man of an elegant genius, and equally distinguished by the extent of his learning, the lustre of his piety, and the sanctity of his manners, had procured Augustine many zealous followers.

XXXII. Urban VIII. and, after him, Innocent X. were bent on appeasing these dangerous tumults, in the same manner as the popes had suppressed the controversies excited by the Dominicans. But the vivacity, and restless spirit of the French doctors, disconcerted the measures of the pontiffs. The opposers of the doctrine of Augustine selected *five propositions* out of the work of Jansenius, which appeared to them erroneous in their nature, and pernicious in their tendency; and employed their most zealous endeavours at the court of Rome, to have these propositions condemned. And the pontiff did condemn them by a public bull, on the 31st of May, 1653. These propositions were,

1. That

1. That *there are divine precepts, which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are, nevertheless, absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that measure of grace, that is essentially necessary to render them capable of such obedience :*

2. That *no person, in this corrupt state of nature, can resist the influence of divine grace.*

3. That, *in order to render human actions meritorious, it is not requisite that they be exempt from NECESSITY, but only that they be free from CONSTRAINT.*

4. That *the Semi-pelagians err grievously in maintaining, that the human will is endowed with the power of either receiving or resisting preventing grace :*

5. That *whosoever affirms, that Jesus Christ made expiation, by his sufferings and death, for the sins of all mankind, is a Semi-pelagian.*

Of these propositions the pontiff declared the first four only *heretical*; but the fifth *rash, impious, and injurious* to the Supreme Being.

XXXIII. This sentence of the supreme ecclesiastical judge was indeed painful to the Jansenists, but did not satisfy their adversaries, because Jansenius was not named in the *bull*, nor did the pontiff declare that the *five propositions* were maintained in his book. But they at length engaged Alexander VII. the successor of Innocent, to declare, by a solemn bull, issued out in the year 1656, that the *five propositions* were the tenets of Jansenius, and were contained in his book. Nay, in the year 1665, he sent into France the form of a declaration, that was to be subscribed by all those who aspired after any preferment

preferment in the church, in which it was affirmed, that the *five propositions* were to be found in the book of Jansenius, in the same sense in which they had been condemned by the church. This declaration produced the most deplorable tumults. It was immediately opposed by the Jansenists, who maintained, that, in *matters of fact*, the pope was *fallible*, especially when his decisions were not confirmed by a general council; and, of consequence, that it was neither obligatory nor necessary to subscribe this declaration. The Jesuits, on the contrary, asserted openly in the face of the Gallican church, that faith in the papal decisions relating to matter of *fact*, had no less the characters of a *divine faith*, than when these decisions related merely to matters of doctrine. All the Jansenists were not equally resolute. Some of them declared, that they would neither subscribe nor reject the *Form* in question, but shew their veneration for the authority of the pope, by observing a profound silence. Others professed themselves ready to subscribe it, on condition of being allowed to explain the sense in which they understood it. Others employed a variety of methods and stratagems to elude the force of it. But nothing of this kind was sufficient to satisfy the Jesuits; nothing less than the entire ruin of the Jansenists could appease their fury. Such, therefore, as made the least opposition to the declaration were cast into prison, or sent into exile, or involved in some other species of persecution.

XXXIV. The lenity or prudence of Clement IX. suspended, for a while, the calamities of those who had sacrificed their liberty and their fortunes to their zeal for the doctrine of Augustine.

tine. This change, which happened in the year 1669, was occasioned by the fortitude of the bishops of Angers, Beauvais, Pamiers, and Alet, who gloriously refused to subscribe the declaration. They did not indeed stand alone in the breach; for when the court of Rome began to menace, nineteen bishops more arose with a noble intrepidity, and adopted their cause, in solemn remonstrances, addressed both to the king of France and the Roman pontiff. These resolute protesters were joined by Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, dutchess of Longueville, a heroine of the first rank both in birth and magnanimity, who, having renounced the pleasures of the world, espoused, with a devout ardour, the cause of the Jansenists, and earnestly implored the clemency of the pontiff in their behalf. Moved by these intreaties, and by other considerations, Clement IX. became so indulgent as to accept of a conditional subscription to the famous declaration. This was no sooner made public, than the Jansenists began to come forth from their lurking-places, to return from their voluntary exile, and to enjoy their former tranquillity and freedom. But the death of the dutchess of Longueville, which happened in the year 1679, deprived the Jansenists of their principal support. From that time they were pursued with the same malignity that they had before experienced. Some of them avoided the rising storm by a voluntary exile; others sustained it with invincible fortitude; others escaped its violence, as well as they could, by dexterity and artifice. Anthony Arnaud, who was the head of the party, fled into Holland in the year 1679; and, in this retreat, he not only escaped the fury of his enemies, but made the
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the Jesuits feel the weight of his talents and the extent of his influence. For the eloquence and sagacity of this great man gave him such an ascendant in the Netherlands, that the greatest part of the churches there embraced his opinions, and adopted his cause; the Romish congregations in Holland also were, by his influence, and the ministry of his friends, entirely gained over to the Jansenist party. But that which offends most the creatures of the pontiff, is the austerity of this party, and the severity that reigns in their system of moral discipline and practical religion. For the Jansenists cry out against the corruptions of the church of Rome, and complain that neither its doctrines nor morals retain any traces of their former purity. They reproach the clergy with an universal depravation, and an entire forgetfulness of the dignity of their character. They censure the licentiousness of the monastic Orders, and insist upon the necessity of reforming their discipline according to the rules of sanctity and self-denial, that were originally prescribed by their founders. They maintain also, that the people ought to be carefully instructed in all the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, and that, for this purpose, the Holy Scriptures and Public Liturgies should be in their mother-tongue; and, finally, they look upon it as a matter of the highest moment to persuade all Christians, that true piety does not consist in the observance of pompous rites, or in the performance of external acts of devotion, but in inward holiness.

These sentiments of the Jansenists, on a general view, seem just and rational, and suitable to the spirit of Christianity; but, when we examine the particular branches into which they

extend these general principles, and the manner in which they apply them, in their rules of discipline and practice, we shall find they are deeply tinged both with superstition and fanaticism.

The Abbot of St. Cyran is the great oracle of the party. His piety, such as it was, carried in it the marks of sincerity and fervor; he was also superior, perhaps, as a pastor, to the greatest part of the Roman-catholic doctors; and his learning, more especially his knowledge of religious antiquity, was very considerable: but to propose this man as a compleat and perfect model of *genuine* piety, and as a most accurate and accomplished teacher of *Christian* virtue, is an absurdity peculiar to the Jansenists, and can be adopted by no person who knows what *genuine* piety and *Christian* virtue are. That we may not seem to detract rashly, and without reason, from the merit of this eminent man, it will not be improper to confirm what we have said by some instances. This good abbot, having undertaken to vanquish the *Heretics* (i. e. the Protestants) in a prolix and extensive work, was obliged to read, or at least to look into, the various writings published by that *impious tribe*; and this he did in company with his nephew Martin de Barcos, who resembled him entirely in his sentiments and manners. But before he would venture to open a book composed by a Protestant, he constantly marked it with the *sign of the cross*, to expel the *evil spirit*. What weakness and superstition did this ridiculous proceeding discover! for the good man was persuaded that *Satan* had fixed his residence in the books of the Protestants; but it is not so easy to determine where he imagined the wicked spirit lay, whether in the paper, in the letters, between the

the leaves, or in the doctrines of these *infernal* productions? His attachment to Augulline was so excessive, that he looked upon, as sacred and divine, even those opinions of that great man which the wiser part of the Romish doctors had rejected as erroneous and highly dangerous. Such, among others, was that extravagant and pernicious tenet, that *the saints are the only lawful proprietors of the world; and that the wicked have no right, by the divine law, to those things which they possess justly, in consequence of the decisions of human law.* To this purpose is the following assertion of our abbot, as we find it in Fontaine's *Mémoires pour servir à l' Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 201. *Jesus Christ n'est encore entré dans la possession de son Royaume temporel, et des biens du monde qui lui appartiennent, que par cette PETITE PORTION qu'en tient l'Eglise par les bénéfices de ses Clercs, qui ne sont que les fermiers et les depositaires de Jesus Christ.* If, therefore, we are to give credit to this visionary man, the golden age is approaching, when Jesus Christ, having pulled down the mighty from their seats, and dethroned the kings and princes of the earth, shall reduce the whole world under his sole dominion, and give it over to the government of priests and monks, who are the *princes* of his church.—After we have seen such sentiments as these maintained by their oracle and chief, it is but natural to be surpris'd when we hear the Jansenists boasting of their zeal in defending sovereign states, and in general the civil rights of mankind, against the stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs.

The notions of the abbot of St. Cyran concerning *prayer*, which breathe the fanatical spirit

of mysticism, will further confirm what we have said of his propensity to enthusiasm. It is, for example, a favourite maxim with him, that the Christian, who prays, ought never to recollect the good things he stands in need of in order to ask them of God, since true prayer does not consist in distinct notions and clear ideas of what we are doing in that solemn act, but in a certain *blind impulse* of divine love. Such is the account given of the abbot's sentiments on this head by Lancelot, in his *Memoires touchant la vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tom. ii. p. 44. — *Il ne croyoit pas*, says that author, *que l'on pût faire quelque effort pour s'appliquer à quelque point, ou à quelque pensée particulière—parce que la véritable priere est plutôt un attrait de son amour, qui emporte notre cœur vers lui et nous enleve comme hors de nous-mêmes, que non pas une occupation de notre esprit, qui se remplit de l'idée de quelque objet quoique divin.* According to this hypothesis, the man prays best who neither *thinks* nor *asks* in that act of devotion. This is, indeed, a very extraordinary account of the matter, and contains an idea of prayer which seems to have been quite unknown to Christ and his *Apostles*; for the *former* has commanded us to address our prayers to God in a set form of words; and the *latter* frequently tell us the subjects of their petitions and supplications.

But of all the errors of this Arch-Jansenist, none was so pernicious as the fanatical notion he entertained of his being the *residence* of the Deity, the *instrument* of the Godhead, by which the *divine nature* itself essentially operated. It was in consequence of this dangerous principle, that he recommended it as a duty incumbent on all pious men, to follow, without consulting their judgment

judgment or any other guide, the *first motions* and *impulses* of their minds, as the dictates of heaven. And indeed the Jansenists, in general, are intimately persuaded, that God *operates* immediately upon the minds of those who have composed, or rather suppressed, all the motions of the *understanding* and *will*, and that to such he declares from above, his intentions and commands; since whatever thoughts, designs, or inclinations arise within them, in this calm state of tranquillity and silence, are to be considered as the direct suggestions and oracles of the divine wisdom.

The Jansenists also make Repentance consist chiefly in those voluntary sufferings, which the transgressor inflicts upon himself. They look upon Christians as bound to expiate original guilt by acts of mortification, by torturing and macerating their bodies, by painful labour, and excessive abstinence; and they hold every person obliged to increase these voluntary sufferings, in proportion to the corruption they have contracted by a vicious life. Nay, they do not scruple to call those *holy* self-tormentors, who have gradually put an end to their days by excessive abstinence or labour, the *Sacred victims of repentance*. Not satisfied with this, they go farther, and maintain, that the conduct of the self-murderers is peculiarly meritorious in the eye of heaven; and that their sufferings and labours appease the anger of the Deity, and not only contribute to their own felicity, but draw down abundant blessings upon their friends and upon the church. Accordingly the famous abbé De Paris put himself to a most painful death, in order to satisfy the justice of God.

XXXV. A striking example of this extravagant species of devotion was exhibited in that celebrated female convent called *Port-Royal in the fields*, which was situated in a retired, deep, and gloomy vale, not far from Paris. The government of this society was given by Henry IV. to Jaqueline, daughter of Anthony Arnaud, an eminent lawyer, and father to the famous Arnaud, doctor in Sorbonne, who, after her conversion, assumed the name of Marie Angelique de la St. Madelaine. This happened in the year 1609, when she resolved to consecrate her future days to deep devotion and penitential exercises. This resolution was strengthened by her acquaintance with the abbot of St. Cyran, after whose example she modelled both her own conduct and the manners of her convent. Hence it happened, that, during the whole course of this century, the convent of *Port-Royal* excited the admiration of the Jansenists, and the attention of Europe. The virgins of this famous society observed, with the utmost exactness, that ancient rule of the Cistercians, which had been almost every where abrogated on account of its austerity. Such was the fame of this nunnery, that multitudes of pious persons were ambitious to dwell in its neighbourhood, and that a great part of the *Jansenist-penitents*, of both sexes, built huts without its precincts, where they imitated the manners of those who, in the fourth and fifth centuries, retired into the wild and uncultivated places of Syria and Egypt, and were commonly called, *The Fathers of the Desert*. The end which these Penitents had in view, was, by silence, hunger, thirst, prayer, bodily labour, watchings, and other voluntary acts of self-denial, to efface the guilt and remove the

the pollution the soul had derived from natural corruptions or evil habits. They did not however, all observe the same discipline. The more learned consumed their strength in laborious productions, filled with sacred and profane erudition, and some of these have, no doubt, deserved well of the republic of letters: others were employed in teaching youth the rudiments of language and the principles of science: but the greatest part exhausted their strength in servile industry and rural labour. What is surprising is, that many of these were persons illustrious both by their birth and stations, who, after having distinguished themselves in civil or military employments, debased themselves so as to assume the character, offices, and labours of the lowest servants.

This celebrated retreat was subject to many vicissitudes during the whole course of this century: at one time it flourished in unrivalled glory; at another it seemed on the brink of ruin. At length, when the nuns refused to subscribe the declaration of Pope Alexander VII. Lewis XIV. in the year 1709, set on by the violent counsels of the Jesuits, ordered the convent of *Port-Royal* to be demolished, and the whole building to be levelled with the ground. And, lest there should remain some secret fuel to nourish the flame of superstition in that place, he ordered the very carcases of the nuns and devout Jansenists to be dug up and buried elsewhere.

XXXVI. The other controversies that disturbed the church of Rome, were but light blasts when compared with this hurricane. The old debate between the Franciscans and Dominicans, concerning the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary*, which was maintained by the former,

former, and denied by the latter, gave much trouble to the Roman pontiffs, and more especially to Paul V. Gregory XV. and Alexander VII. The kingdom of Spain was thrown into such combustion, and so miserably divided into factions by this controversy, that solemn embassies were sent to Rome, both by Philip III. and his successor. But, notwithstanding these solicitations, the oracle of Rome pronounced nothing but ambiguous words. For if they were awed, on the one hand, by the remonstrances of the Spanish court, which favoured the sentiment of the Franciscans, they were restrained, on the other, by the credit of the Dominicans. So that, after the most earnest entreaties, all that could be obtained from the pontiff, by the court of Spain, was a declaration, intimating, that the opinion of the Franciscans had a high degree of probability, and forbidding the Dominicans to oppose it in a public manner; but this declaration was accompanied with another, by which the Franciscans were prohibited, from treating as erroneous the doctrine of the Dominicans.

XXXVII. The controversies with the Mystics were now renewed. Michael de Molinos, a Spanish Priest, resided at Rome, and the fame of his piety procured him a considerable number of disciples of both sexes. A book he published at Rome, under the title of *Spiritual Guide*, alarmed the doctors of the church. This book, which was composed in Spanish, and published, for the first time, in the year 1675, was honoured with the approbation and encomiums of many eminent and respectable personages. It was published in Italian in several places, and at length at Rome, in 1681. It was afterwards translated

translated into French, Dutch, and Latin, and passed through several editions in France, Italy, and Holland. The Latin translation, which bears the title of *Manuductio Spiritualis*, was published at Halle, in the year 1687, in 8vo, by Frank. It contained, besides the usual precepts and institutions of Mystic theology, several notions relating to a *contemplative life*. The principles of Molinos, which have been very differently interpreted by his friends and enemies, amount to this: "That the whole of religion consists in the perfect *calm* and *tranquillity* of a mind removed from all external and finite things, and centered in God, and in such a *pure love* of the Supreme Being as is independent on all prospect of interest or reward;" or, in other words, "The soul, in the pursuit of the *supreme good*, must retire from the reports and gratifications of sense, and, in general, from all corporeal objects, and, imposing silence upon all the motions of the understanding and will, must be *absorbed* in the Deity." Hence the denomination of *Quietists* was given to the followers of Molinos; though that of *Mystics*, was their vulgar title. The zealous votaries of Rome, soon perceived that the system of Molinos was a tacit censure of the Romish church, as having departed from the spirit of true religion, by placing the essence of piety in external works. But the warmest opposer Molinos met with was the French ambassador at Rome, who raised a violent persecution against him. Molinos, unable to resist the storm, and abandoned by those from whom he chiefly expected succour, yielded to it, in the year 1685, when, notwithstanding the number, rank, and credit of his friends at Rome, and the particular marks of favour he had received from the pontiff, he

he was cast into prison. Two years after, he was obliged to renounce the errors of which he was accused, and this solemn recantation was followed by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, from which he was, in an advanced age, delivered by death, in the year 1696. The candid and impartial will be obliged to acknowledge, that his opinions and expressions were perfidiously misrepresented and perverted by the Jesuits and others, whose interest it was, that he should be put out of the way: and it is most certain, that his doctrine was charged with consequences which he neither approved nor even apprehended.

XXXVIII. It would have been surprising had a system of piety, that was so adapted to melt the tender heart, been destitute of votaries. But this was by no means the case. In Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Molinos had a considerable number of disciples. But the church of Rome, apprehensive of the consequences of this doctrine, left no method unemployed to stop its progress; and, by the force of promissings and threatenings, of severity and mildness, stifled, in the birth, the commotions it seemed adapted to excite.

XXXIX. One of the principal patrons of *Quietism* in France was Marie Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon, a woman of fashion, remarkable for the goodness of her heart and the regularity of her manners, but subject to be drawn away by a warm and unbridled fancy. She derived her ideas of religion from the feelings of her own heart; a manner of proceeding of all others the most uncertain. Her religious sentiments made a great noise in the year 1687, and gave offence to many. Hence they were, at length, pronounced erroneous, and, in the year 1697, were professedly

fessedly confuted, by the celebrated Bossuet. This gave rise to a controversy, between the prelate last mentioned and Francis Salignac de Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, whose sublime virtue and superior genius were beheld with veneration in all the countries of Europe. Of these two disputants, who, in point of eloquence, were without either superiors or equals in France, the latter favoured the religious system of Madame Guyon. And when Bossuet desired his approbation of the book he had composed, Fenelon not only refused it, but openly declared that this pious woman had been treated with great injustice, and that the censures of her adversary were groundless. Yea, and in the year 1697, he published a book, in which he adopted several of the tenets of Madame Guyon, and especially that favourite doctrine of the Mystics, that the love of the Supreme Being must be pure and disinterested; that is, exempt from all views of interest and all hope of reward. This doctrine Fenelon confirmed by the authority of the most eminent among the Romish doctors. Bossuet, whose leading passion was ambition, and who beheld with anxiety the rising fame of Fenelon, was highly exasperated by this, and left no method unemployed which artifice could suggest, to mortify a rival whom illustrious merit had rendered so formidable. For this purpose, he threw himself at the feet of Lewis XIV. implored the succours of the Roman pontiff, and, by his importunities and stratagems, obtained, at length, the condemnation of Fenelon's book. This condemnation was pronounced in the year 1699, by Innocent XII. who declared that book unsound in general, and branded with more peculiar marks of disapprobation twenty-three propositions. The book, however, was condemned alone,

alone, without any mention of the author; and the conduct of Fenelon on this occasion was very remarkable. He declared publicly his acquiescence in the sentence by which his book had been condemned, and not only read that sentence to his people in the pulpit at Cambray, but exhorted them to respect and obey the papal decree.

C H A P. II.

The History of the Greek and Oriental Churches.

I. **T**HE Greek church, whose wretched situation was mentioned in the history of the preceding century, continued, during the present one, in the same deplorable state of ignorance and decay, destitute of the means of acquiring or promoting solid and useful knowledge. But among that multitude of Greeks who travel into Sicily, Venice, Rome, England, Holland, and Germany, or carry on trade in their own country, or fill honourable posts in the court of the Turkish emperor, there are undoubtedly several, who are exempt from this reproach of ignorance and stupidity, of superstition and profligacy, and who make a figure by their opulence and credit. But nothing can be more rooted than the aversion of the Greeks in general to the Latin or Romish church; an aversion which neither promises nor threatenings, artifice nor violence, have been able to conquer, and which has continued inflexible amidst the most zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs, and the various means employed by their numerous missionaries to gain over this people

people to their communion. It is true, the Latin doctors have founded churches in some of the islands of the Archipelago; but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable; nor will either the Greeks or their masters, the Turks, permit the Romish missionaries to go further.

II. Under the pontificate of Urban VIII. great hopes were entertained of softening the antipathy of the Greeks against the Latin church, and of engaging them, and the other Christians of the East, to embrace the communion of Rome. Urban called to his assistance such ecclesiastics as were most eminent for their acquaintance with Greek and Oriental learning, and with the tempers, manners, and characters of the Christians in those distant regions, that they might suggest the most effectual method of bringing their churches under the Roman yoke. The wisest of these counsellors advised the pontiff to lay it down for a preliminary in this difficult negotiation, that the Greek and Eastern Christians were to be indulged in almost every point that had hitherto been refused them by the Romish missionaries, and that no alteration was to be introduced either into their ritual or doctrine. In defence of this method it was observed, that the Greeks would be much more obsequious, were they told by the missionaries, that it was not meant to convert them; that they had always been Roman-catholics in reality, though not in profession; and that the popes had no intention of persuading them to abandon the doctrine of their ancestors, but only to understand it in its true and genuine sense.

This design of bringing, by artful compliances, the Greek and Eastern churches under the jurisdic-

diction of Rome was opposed by many; but by none with more resolution and zeal than by Cyrillus Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of extensive learning and knowledge of the world, who had travelled through a great part of Europe, and was well acquainted with the doctrine and discipline both of the Protestant and Romish churches. This prelate declared openly, and indeed with more courage than prudence, that he had a strong propensity to the religious sentiments of the English and Dutch churches, and had conceived the design of reforming the doctrine and ritual of the Greeks, and of bringing them nearer to the purity and simplicity of the Gospel. This was sufficient to render the venerable patriarch odious to the friends of Rome. And accordingly the Jesuits, seconded by the French ambassador, and assisted by the treacherous stratagems of some perfidious Greeks, continued to persecute the good man in various ways, and at length accomplished his ruin; for, by the help of false witnesses, they obtained an accusation of treason against him, in consequence of which he was put to death, in the year 1638, by the order of the emperor. He was succeeded by Cyrillus, bishop of Berea, a man of a dark, malignant, and violent spirit, and the infamous instrument the Jesuits had employed in bringing him to an untimely end. As this new patriarch declared himself openly in favour of the Latins, the reconciliation of the Greeks with the church of Rome seemed more probable than ever; but the dismal fate of this unworthy prelate dispelled all of a sudden, the pleasing hopes which Rome had formed. The same violent death that concluded the days of Cyrillus Lucar pursued his successor, in whose place Parthenius, a zealous opposer

opposer of the pretensions of Rome, was raised to the patriarchal dignity. After this period, the Roman pontiffs desisted from their attempts upon the Greek church; no favourable opportunity being offered of gaining them over to the Romish communion.

III. Of those independent Greek churches, which are governed by their own laws, and are not subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, there is none but the church established in Russia that can furnish any matter for an ecclesiastical historian; the rest are sunk in the most deplorable ignorance and barbarity. About the year 1666, a certain sect, which assumed the name of *Isbraniki*, i. e. *the Multitude of the Elect*, arose in Russia, and excited considerable tumults. The reasons that this sect alledges, in defence of its separation from the Russian church, are not as yet known with any certainty; nor have we an accurate account of its doctrines and institutions; we only know in general, that its members affect an extraordinary piety and devotion, and complain of the corruptions introduced into the ancient religion of the Russians, partly by the negligence, and partly by the ambition, of the episcopal Order. Great pains were taken to conquer their obstinacy; arguments, promises, threatenings, dragoonings, the authority of synods and councils, seconded by racks and gibbets; in a word, all the methods that artifice or barbarity could suggest were practised to bring back these heretics into the bosom of the church. But these violent measures by no means answered the expectations of the Russian government; they exasperated, instead of reclaiming, these poor men, who retired into the woods and deserts.

and, as it often happens, were rendered more desperate by the calamities in which they were involved. From the time that Peter the Great ascended the throne of Russia, this faction has been treated with more humanity; but even these mild proceedings have by no means healed the schism; on the contrary, the *Roskolniki* have gained strength, since the period now mentioned.

IV. It will not be improper here to give some account of the reformation of the church of Russia, that was owing to the zeal and wisdom of Peter I. This great prince made no change in the articles of faith received among the Russians, and which contain the doctrine of the Greek church. But he took the utmost pains to have this doctrine explained in a manner conformable to right reason and the spirit of the Gospel; and he used the most effectual methods to destroy, on the one hand, that hideous superstition that sat brooding over the whole nation; and, the ignorance of the clergy, which was incredible, and that of the people, which would have surpassed it, had that been possible. These were arduous undertakings; and such as seemed to require whole ages to bring to any tolerable perfection. To accelerate this, Peter became a zealous protector of arts and sciences. He encouraged, by various instances of munificence, men of learning to settle in his dominions. He reformed the schools, that were sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and erected new seminaries of learning. He endeavoured to excite in his subjects a desire of emerging from their ignorance and brutality. And, to crown all, he extinguished the infernal spirit of persecution; abolished the penal laws against those that differed merely in opinion from the established church; and granted to Christians

Christians of all denominations, liberty of conscience, and the privilege of performing divine worship in the manner prescribed by their respective liturgies. This liberty, however, was modified in such a prudent manner, as to defeat any attempts that might be made to promote the interells of popery. For though Roman-catholics were allowed places for divine worship, yet the Jesuits were not permitted to exercise the functions of missionaries in Russia; and a particular charge was given to the council, to which belonged the cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, to use their utmost care to prevent the propagation of Romish tenets among the people.

Besides all this, a notable change was now introduced into the manner of governing the church. The splendid dignity of patriarch, which approached too near the lustre and prerogatives of majesty, not to be offensive to the emperor and burthensome to the people, was suppressed, and this spirited prince, declared himself head of the Russian church. The functions of this important office were entrusted with a council assembled at Petersburg, which was called the *Holy Synod*, and in which one of the *archbishops* was appointed president. The other orders of the clergy continued in their respective rank and offices; but both their revenues and authority were diminished. It was resolved at first, to abolish all monasteries and convents, as prejudicial to the community; but this resolution was not put in execution; on the contrary, the emperor himself erected a magnificent monastery in honour of Alexander Newsky, whom the Russians place in the list of their heroes.

V. A small body of the Monophysites in Asia abandoned, for some time, the doctrine of their

ancestors, and embraced the communion of Rome. This step was owing to the suggestions of a person named Andrew Achigian, who had been educated at Rome, where he imbibed the principles of popery, and, having obtained the title of patriarch from the pontiff, assumed the denomination of Ignatius XXIV. After the death of this pretended patriarch, another usurper placed himself in the patriarchal chair; but the lawful patriarch of the sect had credit enough with the Turks to procure the deposition and banishment of this pretender, and thus the small congregation which acknowledged his jurisdiction was entirely dispersed. The African Monophysites, and more especially the Copts, notwithstanding their poverty and ignorance, stood firm in their principles, and made an obstinate resistance to the promises, presents, and attempts of the missionaries to bring them under the Roman yoke.—

Several years after this, Ernest, duke of Saxe-Gotha, formed the resolution of making an attempt to spread the knowledge of the Gospel in its purity and simplicity among the Abyssinians. This design was formed by the counsels of the famous Ludolph, and was to have been executed by the ministry of abbot Gregory, an Abyssinian, who had resided for some time in Europe. The unhappy fate of this missionary, who perished in a shipwreck, in the year 1657, did not discourage the prince from pursuing his purpose; for in the year 1663 he entrusted the same commission with John Michael Wansleb, a native of Erfurt. But Wansleb instead of going to Abyssinia, remained several years in Egypt. On his return from thence into Europe, he began to entertain uneasy apprehensions of the account

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that would be demanded both of his conduct, and of the manner in which he had employed the sums of money he had received for his Abyssinian expedition. Hence, instead of returning into Germany, he went directly to Rome, where in the year 1667, he entered into the Dominican Order. Thus the pious designs of the best of princes failed in the execution.

VI. The state of the Christians in Armenia underwent a considerable change soon after the commencement of this century, in consequence of the incursions of Abbas the Great king of Persia. This prince laid waste all that part of Armenia that lay contiguous to his dominions, and ordered the inhabitants to retire into Persia. These devastations were designed to prevent the Turks from approaching to his frontier; for the Eastern monarchs, instead of erecting fortified towns on the borders of their kingdoms, laid waste their borders upon the approach of the enemy, that, by thus cutting off the means of their subsistence, their progress might be stopped. In this general emigration, the more opulent sort of the Armenians removed to Ispahan, the capital of Persia, where the generous monarch granted them a beautiful suburb for their residence, with the free exercise of their religion. Under the reign of this magnanimous prince, who cherished his people with a paternal tenderness, these happy exiles enjoyed the sweets of liberty; but after his death, they were involved in calamities of various kinds. The storm of persecution shook their constancy; many apostatised to the Mahometan religion, so that it was justly to be feared that this branch of the Armenian church would gradually perish. On the other hand, the state of religion in that church derived

derived considerable advantages from the settlement of a prodigious number of Armenians, in different parts of Europe, for the purposes of commerce. These merchants, who had fixed their residence, during this century, at London, Amsterdam, Marseilles, and Venice, were not unmindful of the interests of religion in their native country. And their situation furnished them with favourable opportunities of exerting their zeal in this good cause, and particularly of supplying their Asiatic brethren with Armenian translations of the Holy Scriptures, and of other theological books, from the European presses, especially from those of England and Holland.

VII. The divisions that reigned among the Nestorians in the preceding century still subsisted; and all the methods that had been employed to heal them, proved hitherto ineffectual. Some of the Nestorian bishops discovered a propensity to accommodate matters with the church of Rome. Elias II. bishop of Mosul, sent two private embassies to the pope, in the year 1607 and 1610, and, in the latter he addressed to Paul IV. declared his desire to bring about a reconciliation between the Nestorians and the Latin church. Elias III. though at first extremely averse to that church, changed his sentiments; and, in the year 1657, addressed a letter to the congregation *de propaganda fide*, in which he intimated his readiness to join with the church of Rome, on condition that the pope would allow the Nestorians a place of public worship in that city, and would abstain from all attempts to alter the doctrine or discipline of that sect. The Romish doctors perceived that such a reconciliation would be attended with no advantage to their church. And accordingly we do not find that
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the proposal was accepted. Nor were the bishops of Mosul, after this period, at all solicitous about the friendship of the Roman pontiff. The Nestorian bishops of Ormus, proposed also, more than once, plans of reconciliation with the church of Rome. But these proposals were little attended to by the court of Rome, which was owing to that contempt which their poverty excited in the pontiffs, whose ambition and avidity aimed at acquisitions of more consequence. The Romish missionaries gained over nevertheless, a handful of Nestorians, whom they formed into a congregation. The bishops of this little flock reside in the city of Amida, or Diarbeker, and all assume the denomination of Joseph. The Nestorians who inhabited the coasts of Malabar, and are called the Christians of St. Thomas, suffered innumerable vexations and the most grievous persecution from the Romish priests, while these settlements were in the hands of the Portuguese; but neither artifice nor violence could engage them to embrace the communion of Rome. But when Cochin was taken by the Dutch, in the year 1663, and the Portuguese were driven out of these quarters, the persecuted Nestorians were re-inflated in the privilege of serving God according to their conscience.

SECTION

SECTION II.

PART II.

The HISTORY of the MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

The History of the Lutheran Church.

I. **W**E have already seen the calamities the Lutheran church suffered from the persecuting spirit of the Roman pontiffs, and the intemperate zeal of the house of Austria; we shall therefore, at present, confine our view to the losses it sustained from other quarters. The cause of Lutheranism suffered considerably by the desertion of Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, a prince of uncommon genius who not only embraced the doctrine and discipline of the *Reformed* church, but also, in the year 1604, removed the Lutheran professors from their places in the university of Marburg, and the doctors of that communion from the churches they had in his dominions. Maurice, after this took particular care to have his subjects instructed in the doctrine of the Helvetic church, and introduced into the Hessian churches the form of public worship

worship that was observed at Geneva. The doctors of the Reformed church, who lived at this period, defended strenuously the measures followed by Maurice, and maintained, that in all these transactions he observed the strictest principles of equity, and moderation. Perhaps the doctors of modern days may view this matter in a different light. They will acknowledge that if this illustrious prince had been more influenced by the sentiments of the wisest of the Reformed doctors, concerning the conduct we ought to observe towards those who differ from us in religious matters, he would have ordered many things otherwise.

II. The example of the Landgrave of Hesse was followed, in the year 1614, by John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, who also renounced Lutheranism, and embraced the communion of the *Reformed* churches, though without employing any acts of authority to engage his subjects in the same measure. For it is observable, that this prince did not adopt all the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism. He introduced, indeed, into his dominions the form of public worship that was established at Geneva, and he embraced the sentiments of the Reformed churches concerning the *Person* of Christ, and the manner in which *he is present* in the eucharist. But, he refused to admit the doctrine of *Divine Grace* and *Absolute Decrees*; and neither sent deputies to the synod of Dort, nor adopted the decisions of that assembly. This way of thinking was so exactly followed by the successors of Sigismund, that they never would allow the opinion of Calvin, concerning the *Divine Decrees*, to be the received doctrine of the churches in their dominions. It must be mentioned, to the honour
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of this wise prince, that he granted his subjects an entire liberty in religious matters, and left it to their free choice, whether they would remain Lutherans, or follow the example of their sovereign; nor did he exclude from civil honours and employments, those who continued in the faith of their ancestors.

III. It was deplorable to see two churches, which had discovered an equal degree of zeal and fortitude in throwing off the yoke of Rome, living in discords that were highly detrimental to the interests of religion. Hence several eminent divines made it their business to persuade those, whose spirits were inflamed with the heat of controversy, — that the points in debate between the two churches were not essential to true religion; — that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were received and professed in both communions; — and that the difference of opinion between the contending parties, turned either upon points of an incomprehensible nature, or upon matters of indifference, which neither tended to render mankind wiser nor better, and in which the interests of genuine piety were in no wise concerned. The greatest part of the *Reformed* doctors seemed disposed to acknowledge, that the errors of the Lutherans were not of a momentous nature, nor of a pernicious tendency; and that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity had not undergone any remarkable alteration in that communion; and thus on their side an important step was made towards union between the two churches. But the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors declared, that they could not form a like judgment with respect to the doctrine of the Reformed churches; they maintained tenaciously

ciously the importance of the points which divided the two communions, and affirmed, that a considerable part of the controversy turned upon the fundamental principles of religion.

IV. Among the public transactions, relative to the project of a union between the *Reformed* and Lutheran churches, we must not omit mentioning the attempt made by James I. king of Great-Britain, in the year 1615. The person employed for this end by the British monarch, was Peter du Moulin, the most eminent among the Protestant doctors in France; but this design was neither carried on with *spirit*, nor attended with success. Another attempt of the same nature was made in the year 1631, in the synod of Charenton, in which an act was passed by the Reformed doctors, declaring the Lutheran system of religion, free from pernicious and fundamental errors. By this act, a fair opportunity was offered to the Lutherans of joining with the Reformed church upon honourable terms. But few of the Lutherans were disposed to embrace the occasion that was so freely offered. The same year a conference was held at Leipzig between the same Saxon doctors on the one side, and some of the most eminent divines of Hesse-Cassel and Brandenburg, on the other. This conference was conducted with decency and moderation; but that mutual trust and confidence, which is so essential to the success of all kinds of pacification, was wanting. For though the doctors of the Reformed party exposed, with the utmost fairness, the tenets of their church, and made, moreover, many concessions, which the Lutherans themselves could scarcely expect; yet the latter, suspicious and fearful, did not dare to acknowledge, that they were satisfied

with these explications; and thus the conference broke up without having contributed in any respect to promote the work of peace.

V. Uladislaus IV. king of Poland, formed a still more extensive plan of religious union; he proposed a reconciliation not only between the Reformed and Lutheran churches, but also between these two communions and that of Rome. For this purpose, he ordered a conference to be held at Thorn, in the year 1645, the issue of which, as might have been expected, was far from being favourable to the projected union; for the persons employed by the three churches to heal their divisions, or at least to calm their animosities, returned with a greater measure of party-zeal, and a smaller portion of Christian charity, than they brought to it.

The conference held at Cassel in the year 1661, by the order of William VI. Landgrave of Hesse, between Musæus and Henichius, professors at Rintelen, on the side of the Lutherans, and Curtius and Heinsius, of the university of Marpurg, on that of the Reformed, was attended with much more success; and, if it did not bring about a perfect uniformity of opinion, it produced what was much better, a spirit of Christian charity and forbearance. For these candid doctors, after having diligently weighed the importance of the controversies that divided the two churches, embraced each other with reciprocal marks of affection and esteem, and mutually declared, that their respective doctrines were less different from each other than was generally imagined; and that this difference was not of sufficient moment to prevent their fraternal union. But these doctors could not infuse the same spirit of peace and charity

charity into their Lutheran brethren, nor persuade them to view the difference of opinion that divided the Protestant churches in the same light in which they had considered them in the conference at Cassel. On the contrary, their moderation drew upon them the hatred of almost all the Lutherans; and they were loaded with bitter reproaches in a multitude of pamphlets, that were composed expressly to censure their conduct.

VI. Besides these public conferences, held by the authority of princes, in order to promote union among Protestants, a multitude of individuals embarked in this pious cause, on their own private authority, and offered their mediation and good offices to reconcile the two churches. The most eminent of the Calvinistical peace-makers was John Dureus, a native of Scotland, and a man justly celebrated on account of his universal benevolence, solid piety, and extensive learning. Never, perhaps, was there such an example of zeal and perseverance as that exhibited by Dureus, who, during the space of forty years, suffered vexations, and underwent labours, which required the most inexhaustible patience; wrote, exhorted, admonished, entreated, and disputed; in a word, tried every method, to put an end to the dissensions that reigned among the Protestants. For it was not merely by the persuasive eloquence of his pen, or by forming plans in the silence of the closet, that this worthy divine performed the task which his benevolence engaged him to undertake; his activity and industry were equal to his zeal; he travelled through all the countries in Europe where the Protestant religion had obtained any footing; he formed connexions with the doctors of both parties;

ties; he addressed himself to kings, princes, magistrates, and ministers; and by representing, in lively colours, the importance of the plan he had formed, hoped to engage them in this good cause, or at least to derive some succour from their influence and protection. But his views were disappointed; for though he met with a civil reception from the greatest part of those to whom he addressed himself, yet he found very few who were seriously disposed to lend him their assistance, and second his attempts by their influence and counsels. Nay some, suspecting that his extraordinary zeal arose from sinister motives, attacked him with animosity and bitterness, and loaded him with the sharpest invectives. So that this well-meaning man, neglected by those of his own communion, opposed and rejected by the followers of Luther, involved in various perplexities and distress, exhausted by unsuccessful labour, and oppressed and dejected by injurious treatment, perceived, he had undertaken a task which was beyond his power, and spent the remainder of his days in repose and obscurity at Cassel.

VII. Those among the Lutherans that appeared the most zealous in this pacific cause, were John Matthiæ, bishop of Strengnes in Sweden, and George Calixtus professor of divinity at Helmstadt, whom Dureus had animated with a portion of his charitable spirit. The former was a man of capacity, the latter was eminently distinguished by his learning, genius, probity, and candour; but they both failed in the arduous undertaking in which they had engaged. The *Olive-branches* of Matthiæ, who entitled thus his pacific productions, were, by a royal edict, publicly condemned and suppressed in
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in Sweden; and their author, in order to appease the fury of his enemies, was obliged to resign his bishopric. The zeal of Calixtus, in calming the violent spirit of the contending parties, drew upon him the bitterest reproaches, and the warmest resentment from those who were more bent on maintaining their peculiar opinions, than promoting that charity which is the end of the commandment.

VIII. The external state of the Lutheran church at this period was attended with various circumstances of prosperity, among which we may reckon its standing firm against the assaults of Rome, whose artifice and violence were in vain employed. It is well known, that a considerable number of Lutherans resided in those provinces where the public exercise of their religion was prohibited. It has more especially been shewn by the late memorable emigration of the *Saltzburgers*, that still greater numbers of them lay concealed in that land of despotism, where the smallest dissent from popery, is considered as an enormous and capital crime; and that they preserved their religious doctrines pure and uncorrupted amidst the contagion of Romish superstition. In those countries which are inhabited by persons of different communions, and whose sovereigns are members of the Romish church, we have numberless instances of the cruelty practised by the papists against those that dissent from them; and these cruelties are exercised under the pretext that these dissenters are seditious subjects, and consequently worthy of the most rigorous treatment. And yet amidst all these vexations, the Lutheran church has stood its ground: nor has either the craft or fury of its enemies been able, any where, to deprive

it entirely of its rights and privileges. It may further be observed, that the doctrine of Luther was carried into Asia, Africa, and America, by several persons who fixed their habitations in those distant regions, and was also introduced into some parts of Europe, where it had hitherto been unknown.

IX. When we turn our view to the internal state of the Lutheran church during this century, we shall find it improved in various respects. They cultivated all the branches of literature, both sacred and profane, with uncommon industry, and made several improvements in the sciences, which are too well known to stand in need of a particular mention.

It will be acknowledged, by those who have studied the history of this century, that the Lutheran clergy are not wholly irreproachable, and that many churches were under the direction of pastors, who were highly deficient, some in zeal, others in abilities, many in both, and consequently ill qualified for propagating the truths of Christianity. But this reproach is not peculiarly applicable to the seventeenth century; it is a charge that may be brought against all the ages of the church. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged, that many of the Lutheran doctors of this century, were distinguished by their learning, piety, and wisdom. It must further be observed, that many of the defects which are charged upon the doctors of this age, were in a great measure owing to the infelicity of the times. They were the unhappy effects of those public calamities which a war of thirty years produced in Germany; they derived strength from the influence of a corrupt education, and were sometimes encouraged by vicious and profligate magistrates.

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X. It must be acknowledged that, during the greatest part of this century, neither the discourses of the pulpit nor the instructions of the schools were adapted to promote, among the people, just ideas of religion, or to give them a competent knowledge of the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. The eloquence of the pulpit was reduced, in many places, to the noisy art of bawling (during a certain space of time measured by a sand-glass) upon various points of theology, which the orators understood but very little of, and which the people did not understand at all. The ministers had their heads full of sonorous and empty words, of trivial distinctions and subtilties, and were ill furnished with that kind of knowledge that is adopted to touch the heart and to reform the life.

The charge brought against the universities, that they spent more time in subtle controversy, than in explaining the holy Scriptures, and promoting a spirit of piety, though too just, yet may also be alleviated by considering the times. The Lutherans were surrounded with a multitude of adversaries, who obliged them to be perpetually in a posture of defence; and the Roman-catholics, who threatened their destruction, contributed, in a more particular manner, to excite in their doctors that polemic spirit, which unfortunately became a habit, and had an unhappy influence on the exercise both of their academical and pastoral functions. It were indeed ardently to be wished, that the Lutherans had treated with more mildness and charity, those who differed from them in religious opinions. But they had unhappily imbibed a spirit of persecution in their early education; this was too much the spirit of the times, and it was a leading maxim with our ancestors, that it was both lawful and expedient to use severity and force

force against heretics. Nay, in their narrow views of things, their very piety seemed to suppress the generous movements of fraternal love; and the more they felt themselves animated with a zeal for the divine glory, the more difficult did they find it to renounce that ancient maxim, that *whoever is an enemy to God, ought to be declared an enemy to his country.*

XI. The doctrine of the Lutheran church remained entire during this century; its fundamental principles received no alteration. It is, however, to be observed, that, in later times, various circumstances contributed to diminish, in many places, the authority of these *symbolical* oracles, which had so long been considered as almost infallible. Hence arose that unbounded liberty, which is at this day enjoined by all who are not invested with the character of public teachers, of dissenting from the decisions of these *symbols*, or creeds, and of declaring this dissent in the manner they judge expedient. The case was very different in former times: whoever ventured to oppose any of the received doctrines or to spread new religious opinions among the people, was called before the higher powers, and rarely escaped without suffering in his fortune or reputation, unless he renounced his innovations. Towards the conclusion of this century, the learned Spener, and others animated by his exhortations and example, began to inculcate the truths and precepts of religion in a plain and popular manner. And since this period, the science of divinity, has assumed a more liberal and graceful aspect.

XII. Two controversies gave abundant exercise to the Polemic talents of the Lutheran doctors, during the greatest part of this century; and these turned upon the religious systems that

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are generally known under the denominations of *Syncretism* and *Pietism*. Nothing could be more amiable than the principles that gave rise to the former, and nothing more respectable and praise-worthy than the design that was proposed by the latter. The Syncretists, animated with that fraternal love, and that pacific spirit, which Jesus Christ had so often recommended, used their warmest endeavours to promote union among Christians; and the Pietists had undoubtedly in view the restoration of that holiness that had suffered so much by licentious manners on the one hand, and by the spirit of controversy on the other. These two great and amiable virtues, that gave rise to the efforts of the two orders of persons now mentioned, were combated by a third, even a zeal for maintaining the truth, and preserving it from all mixture of error. Thus the love of truth was unhappily found to stand in opposition to the love of piety, and concord.

XIII. The origin of *Syncretism* was owing to George Calixtus of Sleswick, a man of eminent abilities, and who had few equals in this century, either in learning or genius. This great man being placed in the university of Helmstadt, in the dutchy of Brunswick, founded in the year 1576, which, from the very time of its foundation, had been remarkable for encouraging freedom of enquiry, improved this happy privilege, examined the doctrines of the various sects that bear the Christian name, and found, in the notions commonly received among divines, some things defective and erroneous. He accordingly gave early intimations of his dissatisfaction with the state of theology, and lamented, in a more particular manner, the divisions that reigned
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among the servants of the same great master. He therefore turned his views to the softening of the animosities produced by these divisions, and shewed the warmest desire, of establishing concord between the jarring sects, and of extinguishing the hatred, which the contending parties discovered to each other. His colleagues did not seem at all averse to this pacific project. But neither Calixtus, nor his friends, escaped opposition in the execution of such an unpopular and comprehensive project. They were warmly attacked, by a Hanoverian ecclesiastic, a declared enemy to all philosophy. This man charged Calixtus with a long list of errors, which made some small impression on the minds of certain persons; yet it is nevertheless probable, that Buscher would have almost universally passed for a partial, malicious, and rash accuser, had his invectives and complaints rendered Calixtus more cautious and prudent. But the upright and generous heart, of this eminent man, which disdained dissimulation, to a degree that bordered upon the extreme of imprudence, excited him to speak with the utmost frankness his private sentiments; and thus to give a certain measure of plausibility to the accusations of his adversary. Indeed both he and his colleague Conrad Horneius maintained several propositions, which appeared to many, new and singular; and Calixtus, by the plainness with which he declared and defended his sentiments, drew upon him the resentment of the Saxon doctors, who, in the year 1645, were present at the conference of Thorn. He had been chosen by Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, as colleague and assistant to the divines he sent from Koningsberg to these conferences; the Saxon deputies were greatly incensed

cented to see a Lutheran ecclesiastic an assistant to a deputation of Reformed doctors. When these conferences broke up, the Saxon doctors turned the whole force of their polemic weapons against Calixtus; and, in their public writings, reproached him with a propensity towards the sentiments both of the Reformed and Romish churches. He repelled, with the greatest vigour, the attacks of his enemies, and carried on, with uncommon spirit and erudition, this important controversy, until the year 1656, when death put an end to his labours.

XIV. It will be proper to give here, some account of the accusations that were brought against Calixtus. The principal charge was, his having formed a project, not of uniting into one ecclesiastical body, the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches, but of extinguishing the hatred and animosity, that reigned among the members of these different communions, and joining them in the bonds of charity, mutual benevolence, and forbearance. This is the project, which was at first condemned, and is still known under the denomination of Syncretism. Several singular opinions were also laid to the charge of this great man, and were exaggerated, as the most innocent things generally are. Such were his notions concerning the *obscure manner* in which the doctrine of the Trinity was revealed under the Old Testament dispensation; the *necessity* of good works to the attainment of everlasting salvation. But the two great principles that Calixtus laid down as the foundation of all his reconciling plans, gave much more offence than the plans themselves, and drew upon him the resentment of many. Those principles were: First, that *the fundamental doctrines of Christianity*

Christianity (by which he meant those principles) from whence all truths flow) *were preserved pure and entire in all the three communions, and were contained in that ancient form of doctrine, that is vulgarly known by the name of the Apostle's Creed.* And, secondly, *that the opinions, which had been constantly received by the ancient doctors during the first three centuries, were to be considered as of equal authority with the declarations of scripture.* The general plan of Calixtus was founded upon the *first* of these propositions; and he made use of the *second* to give plausibility to certain Romish doctrines and institutions, which have been always rejected by the protestant church; and to establish a happy concord between the various Christian-communions that had hitherto lived in the state of dissension.

XV. The divines of Jena discovered the most consummate prudence, and the most amiable moderation in the midst of these theological debates. For though they confessed, the sentiments of Calixtus were not of such a nature, as that they could be all adopted, yet they maintained, that the greatest part of his tenets were much less pernicious than the Saxon doctors had represented them; and that several of them were innocent, and might be admitted without any danger to the cause of truth. Solomon Glassius, an ecclesiastic, renowned for the mildness of his temper, examined with the utmost candour the opposite sentiments of the doctors that were engaged in this important controversy, and published the result of this examination, by the express order of Ernest, prince of Saxe-Gotha. Musæus, a man of superior learning and exquisite judgment, adopted so far the sentiments of Calixtus as to maintain, that *good*
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works might, in a certain sense, be considered as *necessary to salvation*; and that of the erroneous doctrines imputed to this eminent man, several were of no importance. But this moderation offended so highly the Saxon doctors, that they began to suspect the academy of Jena of erroneous opinions, and marked out Musæus, in a particular manner, as a person who had apostatized from the orthodox faith.

XVI. These debates were succeeded by a controversy, owing to the zeal of a certain set of persons, who, no doubt with pious intentions, endeavoured to stem the torrent of corruption, and to reform the manners both of the clergy and the people. The commencement of *Pietism* was laudable and decent. It was set on foot by the pious and learned Spener, who, by the private societies he formed at Francfort, with a design to promote vital religion, roused the lukewarm from their indifference, and excited a spirit of resolution in those who had been satisfied to lament, in silence, the progress of impiety. The remarkable effect of these pious meetings was increased by a book he published under the title of *Pious Desires*, in which he exhibited a striking view of the disorders of the church, and proposed the remedies proper to heal them. Many persons of good and upright intentions were highly pleased, both with the proceedings and writings of Spener, and indeed, the greatest part of those, who had the cause of virtue at heart, applauded the designs of this good man. But the remedies proposed by Spener, to heal the disorders of the church, were administered without prudence, and thus, in many cases, proved to be worse than the disease itself. The religious meetings above-mentioned, tended in

many places, to kindle a blind and intemperate zeal, instead of that pure and rational love of God, whose fruits are benign and peaceful. Hence complaints arose against these institutions of *Pietism*, as if, under a striking appearance of sanctity, they fomented, in those who were of a turbulent character, the seeds of mutiny and sedition.

XVII. The contests that arose at Leipzig, in the year 1689, added fuel to the flame. Certain pious and learned professors of philosophy, and particularly Franckius, Schadius, and Paulus Antonius, the disciples of Spener, who at that time was ecclesiastical superintendent of the court of Saxony, began to consider the defects that prevailed in the ordinary method of instructing the candidates for the ministry; and this review persuaded them of the necessity of using their best endeavours to supply what was wanting. For this purpose, they undertook to explain in private, certain books of holy Scripture, in order to promote a spirit of practical piety and vital religion in their hearers. The novelty drew attention, and accordingly, these lectures were much frequented, and their effects were visible in the lives and conversations of several persons, whom they inspired with a deep sense of the importance of religion. Whether these first effusions of religious fervor, which were, in themselves, most certainly laudable, were always kept within the bounds of discretion, is a question not easily decided. If we are to believe the report of common fame, this was by no means the case; and many things were both said and done in these meetings, which, though they might be looked upon, by candid judges, as worthy of indulgence, were, nevertheless,
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contrary to custom, and far from being consistent with prudence. Hence rumours were spread, tumults excited, animosities kindled, and the matter at length brought to a public trial, in which the pious and learned men above-mentioned were, indeed, declared free from the heresies that had been laid to their charge, but were, at the same time, prohibited from carrying on the plan of religious instruction they had undertaken. It was during these troubles that the invidious denomination of *Pietists* was first invented. It was at first applied by some giddy persons to those who frequented these meetings, and lived in a manner suitable to the instructions that were addressed to them in these seminaries of piety. It was afterwards made use of to characterize all those who were either distinguished by the excessive austerity of their manners, or who, regardless of *truth*, were only intent upon *practice*, and turned the whole vigour of their efforts towards the attainment of religious feelings and habits. But as it is the fate of all those denominations, by which peculiar sects are distinguished, to be variously and often improperly applied, so the title of *Pietists* was frequently given to persons of eminent wisdom and sanctity, who were equally remarkable for their adherence to truth and their love of piety; and, not seldom, to persons whose motley characters exhibited an enormous mixture of profligacy and enthusiasm.

XVIII. This contest spread with incredible celerity, through all the Lutheran churches in Europe. For, from this time, in all the cities, towns, and villages, where Lutheranism was professed, there started up, persons of various ranks and professions, learned and illiterate, who de-

clared, they were called, by a *divine impulse*, to pull up iniquity by the root, to propagate through the world, the declining cause of piety, to govern the church of Christ by wiser rules than those by which it was at present directed. All these agreed, that nothing could have a more powerful tendency to solid knowledge, and holy habits, than those private meetings. Several religious assemblies were accordingly formed in various places, which, though they differed in some circumstances, and were not all conducted with equal wisdom, were designed to promote the same purpose. In the mean time, these unusual proceedings filled with apprehensions both the ecclesiastical and civil governors. And soon after, in many countries, severe laws were enacted against the *Pietists*.

XIX. These revivers of piety were of two kinds. One sect of these practical reformers proposed to carry on their plan without introducing any change into the doctrine, discipline, or form of government established in the Lutheran church. The other maintained, that it was impossible to promote real piety among the Lutherans, without changing the whole form of their ecclesiastical discipline. The former had at their head the learned and pious Spener, who, in the year 1691, removed from Dresden to Berlin, and whose sentiments were adopted by the professors of the new academy of Hall; and particularly by Franckius and Paulus Antonius, who had been invited thither from Leipzig. Though few pretended to treat either with indignation or contempt the intentions of these good men, yet many eminent divines, and more especially the professors and pastors of Wittemberg, looked on themselves as obliged to proceed

ceed publicly, first against Spener, in the year 1695, and afterwards against his disciples, as the promoters of erroneous and dangerous opinions.

It was said, they held that no order of men contributed more to retard piety, than the clergy; and, accordingly, they laid it down as a principle, that none should be admitted into the ministry, but such as had received a proper education, and were distinguished by their wisdom and sanctity of manners. Hence they proposed, in the *first place*, a thorough reformation of the schools of divinity, in the following points: That all those who were designed for the ministry, should be accustomed from their youth to the study of the holy Scriptures;—that they should be taught a plain system of theology, drawn from these unerring sources of truth;—and that the whole course of their education was to be so directed, as to render them useful in life, by the practical power of their doctrine, and the commanding influence of their example. As these maxims were propagated with industry, these professed revivers of piety were suspected of ill designs. They were supposed to despise learning, to renounce all inquiries into the nature and foundations of religious truth, to disapprove of the labours of those who defended it against such as either corrupted or opposed it, and to place the whole of *their* theology in certain declamations concerning the duties of morality.

Another great object that employed their zeal was, that the candidates for the ministry should not only receive such an academical education as would tend rather to solid utility, than to mere speculation; but also that they should

dedicate themselves to God, and exhibit examples of real piety. This produced another maxim, which was a lasting source of debate, viz. "That no person, that was not himself a man of piety, was qualified to be a public teacher of piety, or a guide to others in the way of salvation."

In order to give efficacy to their plans of reformation, they formed new rules of life, much more rigorous than those which had been formerly practised; and placed in the class of *sinful* gratifications, several amusements which had hitherto been looked upon as innocent in themselves, and only abused with intemperance. Thus, dancing, public sports, theatrical diversions, and reading of humorous and comical books, with several other kinds of entertainment, were prohibited by the Pietists.

XX. There were a set of fanatics among the Lutherans, who far surpassed those now mentioned. It is with some account of the principal of these spiritual projectors, that we shall conclude the history of the Lutheran church during this century.

At the head of this visionary tribe we may place Jacob Behmen, a taylor, at Gorlitz. This man had a natural propensity towards mysteries, and was fond of abstruse and intricate inquiries of every kind; and having, partly by books, and partly by conversation with certain physicians, acquired some knowledge of the doctrine of Robert Fludd and the *Rosicrucians*, which was propagated in Germany with great ostentation, he struck out of the element of *fire*, by the succours of imagination, a species of theology much more obscure than the numbers of Pythagoras, or the intricacies of Heraclitus. Some have bestowed high praises on this enthusiast,

fiast, on account of his piety, and sincere love of truth; and we shall not pretend to contradict these encomiums. But such as carry their admiration of his doctrine so far as to honour him with the character of an *inspired messenger of heaven*, or even of a judicious and wise philosopher, must be themselves deceived and blinded in a very high degree; for never did there reign such obscurity and confusion in the writings of any mortal, as in the miserable productions of Jacob Behmen, which exhibited a motley mixture of chimecal terms, crude visions, and mystic jargon. Among other dreams of a disturbed fancy, he entertained the chimerical notion; "That the divine grace operates by the same rules, and follows the same methods, that the divine providence observes in the natural world; and that the minds of men, are purged from their corruptions in the same way that metals are purified from their dross;" and this maxim was the principal of his fire-theology.

C H A P. II.*The History of the Reformed Church.*

I. **I**T has been already observed, that the Reformed church, considered in the most comprehensive sense of that term, as forming a *whole*, composed of a great variety of parts, is rather united by the principles of fraternal charity, than by an uniformity in doctrine, discipline, and worship. It will, therefore, be proper to take, first a view of those events that related to this great body collectively considered; and afterwards to enter into a detail of the most memorable occurrences

currences that happened in the particular communities of which it is composed. The principal accessions it received during this century, have already been mentioned, when we related the changes and commotions that happened in the principalities of Hesse, and Brandenburg. These, however, were not the only changes that took place in favour of the Reformed church. Its doctrine was embraced, about the commencement of this century, by Adolphus, duke of Holstein, and it was naturally expected, that the subjects would follow the example of their prince; but this expectation was disappointed, by the death of Adolphus, in the year 1616. Henry, duke of Saxony, withdrew also from the communion of the Lutherans, in whose religious principles he had been educated; and, in the year 1688, embraced the doctrine of the Reformed church, at Dessau. In Denmark, there were still a considerable number of persons, who secretly espoused the sentiments of that church, and more especially could never reconcile themselves to the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's *bodily presence with the sacrament of the eucharist*. They were confirmed in their attachment to the tenets of the Reformed, by Hemmingius and other followers of Melancthon, whose secret ministry and public writings were attended with considerable success. The face of things however changed; and the Reformed in Denmark saw their expectations vanish, and their credit sink, in the year 1614, when Canut bishop of Gottenburg, who had given too plain intimations of his propensity to the doctrines of Calvin, was deprived of his episcopal dignity. The progress of the Reformed religion in Africa, Asia, and America, is abundantly known; it was carried
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into these distant regions by the English and Dutch emigrants, who formed settlements there for the purposes of commerce, and founded flourishing churches in the provinces where they fixed their habitations. It is also known, that in several places where Lutheranism was established, the French, German, and British members of the Reformed church were allowed the free exercise of their religion.

II. Of all the calamities, that tended to eclipse the lustre of the Reformed church, none was more unhappy in its effects, than the fate of that church in France. From the time of the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of that kingdom, the Reformed church had acquired the form of a body-politic. Its members were endowed with considerable privileges; they were also secured against insults of every kind by a solemn edict, and were possessed of several fortified places, particularly the strong city of Rochelle; in which, to render their security still more complete, they were allowed to have their own garrison. This body-politic was not, indeed, always under the direction of leaders eminent for their prudence, or distinguished by their permanent attachment to the interests of the crown. Truth and candour oblige us to acknowledge that the *Reformed* conducted themselves, on some occasions, in a manner inconsistent with the demands of a regular subordination. Sometimes, amidst the tumults of faction, they joined the parties that opposed the government; at others, they took important steps without the king's approbation; nay, they went so far as to solicit, more than once, the alliance of England and Holland. Hence the contests that arose in the year 1621, and subsisted long,
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between Lewis XIII. and his protestant subjects; and hence the maxim of Richlieu, that the kingdom of France could never enjoy peace, before the Protestants were deprived of their strong-holds, and before their rights and privileges, with their ecclesiastical polity, were totally suppressed. This minister, after many violent efforts, obtained, at length, his purpose. For in the year 1628, the town of Rochelle, the chief bulwark of the Reformed in France, was taken. From this fatal event the Reformed party in France, defenceless and naked, dates its decline; since, after the reduction of their chief city, they had no other resource than the pure clemency of their sovereign. And had the French monarch, satisfied with depriving the Protestants of their strong-holds, continued to maintain them in that liberty of conscience, for which they had shed so much blood, and to the enjoyment of which their eminent services to the house of Bourbon had given them such a fair title, they would have borne with patience this infraction of their privileges.

III. But the court of France, and the despotic views of its minister, were not satisfied with this success. Having destroyed that civil polity that had been annexed to the Reformed church, as a security for the maintenance of its religious privileges, they proceeded still further; and, regardless of the royal faith, confirmed by the most solemn declarations, perfidiously invaded those privileges of the church that were merely of a religious nature. At first, the court put in practice all the arts of persuasion, to gain over the heads of the Reformed church. In a word, every insidious method was employed, to conquer their aversion to the church of Rome.

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When all these stratagems were observed to produce little effect, barbarity and violence were employed to extirpate a set of men, whom perfidy could not seduce, and whom weak arguments would not convince. The most inhuman laws that the blind rage of bigotry could dictate, the most oppressive measures that malice could invent, were put in execution, to bring them by force under the yoke of Rome. The French bishops distinguished themselves by their unchristian zeal in this horrid scene of persecution and cruelty. Many of the Protestants sunk under the weight of oppression, and yielded up their faith to armed legions, sent to convert them; several fled from the storm, and deserted their families, their friends and their country; and by far the greatest part persevered, with a noble and heroic constancy, in the purity of that religion, which their ancestors had delivered to them.

IV. When at length every method which artifice or perfidy could invent had been practised in vain against the Protestants, under the reign of Lewis XIV. the bishops and Jesuits, whose counsels had a peculiar influence on that prince, judged it necessary to extirpate them by fire and sword; and thus to ruin by one blow, the cause of the Reformation in France. So in the year 1685, trampling on the most solemn obligations, and regardless of all laws, human and divine, revoked the *Edict of Nantes*; and thereby deprived the Protestants of the liberty of serving God according to their consciences. It was followed by a measure still more tyrannical; an express order addressed to all the Reformed, to embrace the Romish faith. The consequences of this unrighteous proceeding were highly detrimental to the true interests of the French nation,

nation, by the prodigious emigrations it occasioned among the Protestants, who sought, in various parts of Europe, that religious liberty which their mother-country had refused them. Those among them, whom the vigilance of their enemies guarded so closely as to prevent their flight, were exposed to the brutal rage of an unrelenting soldiery, and were assailed by every barbarous form of persecution. This crying act of perfidy and injustice in a prince, who, on other occasions, gave proofs of his generosity and equity, is sufficient to shew, in their genuine colours, the spirit of the Romish church, and of the Roman pontiffs, and the manner in which they stand affected to those whom they consider as *Heretics*. It is peculiarly adapted to convince the impartial observer, that the most solemn oaths and the most sacred treaties are never looked upon, by this church, as obligatory, when the violation of them may contribute to advance their interests.

V. The *Waldenses*, who lived in the vallies of Piedmont, and had embraced the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of Geneva, were oppressed and persecuted, in the most inhuman manner, during the greatest part of this century, by the ministers of Rome; this persecution was carried on with peculiar rage and enormity in the years 1655, 1686, and 1696, and seemed to portend nothing less than the total destruction of that unhappy nation. The most horrid scenes of violence and bloodshed were exhibited on this theatre of papal tyranny; and the small numbers of the Waldenses that survived, are indebted for their existence and support, precarious and uncertain as it is, to the continual intercession made for them by the English

English and Dutch governments, and also by the Swiss cantons, who never cease to solicit the duke of Savoy in their behalf.

The church of the Palatinate, which had been long at the head of the Reformed churches in Germany, declined apace from the year 1685, when a Roman-catholic prince was raised to that electorate. This decline became at length so great, that, instead of being the first, it was the least considerable of all the Protestant assemblies in that country.

VI. The doctrines of Christianity, which had been so sadly disfigured among the Lutherans, by the intricate tenets of the scholastic philosophy, met with the same fate in the Reformed churches. The first successful effort, that prevented these churches from falling entirely under the Aristotelian yoke, was made by the Arminians, who were remarkable for expounding, with simplicity and perspicuity, the truths and precepts of religion, and who censured, with great plainness, those ostentatious doctors, who affected to render them obscure.

VII. We have had formerly occasion to observe, that doctor William Ames, a Scots divine, was one of the first, among the Reformed, who attempted to treat morality as a separate science, to consider it abstractedly from its connexion with any particular system of doctrine, and to introduce new light and a new degree of accuracy into this *master science* of life and manners. The attempt was laudible, had it been well executed; but the system of this learned writer was dry, and subtle, and was, thus, much more adapted to the instruction of the studious, than to the practical direction of the Christian. The Arminians, who generally employ more pains in

directing the will, than in enlightening the understanding, engaged several authors of note to exhibit the precepts of morality in a more useful, practical, and popular manner; but the English and French surpassed all the moral writers of the Reformed church in penetration, solidity, and in the ease, freedom, and perspicuity of their method and compositions. While England groaned under the horrors of a civil war, it was chiefly the Presbyterians that employed their talents in promoting practical religion.

VIII. About the commencement of this century, the academy of Geneva was in such high repute among the Reformed churches, that it was resorted to from all quarters; especially by students of theology. Hence it naturally happened, that the opinions of Calvin, concerning the *Decrees of God*, became daily more universal, and were gradually introduced every where into the schools of learning. There was not, however, any public law or confession of faith that obliged the pastors of the Reformed churches, in any part of the world, to conform their sentiments to the theological doctrines that were taught at Geneva. And accordingly there were many, who rejected entirely the doctrine of that academy on these intricate points. Nay, even those who were in general attached to the theological system of Geneva, were not agreed about the manner of explaining the doctrine. The greatest part were of opinion, that God had only *permitted* the first man to fall into transgression, without positively *pre-determining* his fall. But others maintained that God, in order to display his awful *justice* and his free *mercy*, had decreed from all eternity, the transgression of *Adam*; and so ordered the course of events, that our first
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parents could not possibly avoid their fall. Those that held this latter sentiment were denominated *Supralapsarians*, to distinguish them from the *Sublapsarian* doctors who maintained the doctrine of *permission*.

IX. It is remarkable enough, that the *Supralapsarian* and *Sublapsarian* divines forgot their differences, as matters of little consequence; and united their force against those who thought it their duty to represent the Deity, as extending his mercy to *all mankind*. This gave rise to a deplorable schism. James Arminius, professor of divinity in Leyden, rejected the doctrine of the church of Geneva, in relation to predestination; and maintained, that God has excluded none from salvation by an *absolute* decree. He was joined in these sentiments by several persons in Holland, eminently distinguished by their learning and the dignity of their stations; but he met with the warmest opposition from Francis Gomar his colleague, and from the principal professors in the Dutch universities. The magistrates exhorted the contending parties to charity; and observed, that, in a free state, their respective opinions might be treated with toleration, without any detriment to true religion. After long debates, this intricate controversy was referred to the decision of a general synod at Dort, in the year 1618. The most eminent divines of the United Provinces, and deputies from the churches of England, Scotland, Switzerland, Bremen, Hesse, and the Palatinate, were present at this assembly. It was by the sentence of these judges, that the Arminians were declared corrupters of the true religion. It must be observed, at the same time, that the doctors, who embraced the *Sublapsarian* system, triumphed over their

adversaries in this synod. For though the patrons of the *Supralapsarian* cause were far from being contemptible; yet the moderation and equity of the British divines prevented the synod from giving its sanction to their opinion.

X. It is to be doubted, whether this victory over the Arminians, was, upon the whole, advantageous or detrimental to the church of Geneva in particular, and to the Reformed church in general. It is certain, that, after the synod of Dort, the doctrine of Absolute Decrees lost ground from day to day. The leaders of the Arminians were eminently distinguished by their eloquence, sagacity, and learning; and being highly exasperated by the oppressive treatment they met with, in consequence of their condemnation, they defended themselves and attacked their adversaries with such spirit, dexterity, and eloquence, that multitudes were persuaded of the justice of their cause. It is particularly to be observed, that the authority of the synod of Dort was far from being universally acknowledged among the Dutch; the provinces of Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Groningen, could not be persuaded to adopt its decisions.

In England, the face of religion changed considerably, in a little time after the synod; and this change, in favour of *Arminianism*, was principally effected by the counsels of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. This revolution gave new courage to the Arminians; and from that period to the present time, they have had the pleasure of seeing the decisions of the synod of Dort, relating to the points in debate between them and the Calvinists, treated, in England, with something more than mere indifference, beheld by
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some with aversion, and by others with contempt. And indeed, if we consider the genius of the church of England during this period, we shall plainly see, that the doctrine of the *Gomarists*, concerning Predestination, could not meet there with a favourable reception, since the leading doctors of that church were zealous in modelling its doctrine and discipline after the sentiments and institutions that were received in the primitive times, and since those early *fathers* had never presumed, before Augustine, to set limits to the divine mercy.

The Reformed churches in France seemed, at first, disposed to give a favourable reception to the decisions of this famous synod; but, as these decisions were highly displeasing to the votaries of Rome among whom they lived, they thought it their duty to be circumspect in this matter; and, in process of time, their real sentiments began to differ extremely from those of the *Gomarists*. The churches of Brandenburg and Bremen, which made a considerable figure among the *Reformed* in Germany, would never suffer their doctors to be tied down to the tenets of the Dutch divines. And thus it happened, that the liberty of private judgment (with respect to the doctrine of Predestination,) which the spirit that prevailed among the divines of Dort seemed so much adapted to suppress, acquired rather new vigour, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of that assembly; and the Reformed church was immediately divided into *Universalists*, *Semi-universalists*, *Supralapsarians*, and *Sublapsarians*, who, indeed, notwithstanding their dissensions, live generally in the exercise of mutual toleration. What is still more remarkable, we see the city of Geneva, which was the parent, the

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nurse, and the guardian of the doctrine of *Absolute Predestination*, not only put on sentiments of charity, and esteem for the Arminians, but become itself so far Arminian, as to deserve a place among the churches of that communion.

XI. The church of England had, for a long time, resembled a ship tossed on a tempestuous ocean. The opposition of the Papists on the one hand, and the discontents of the Puritans on the other, had kept it in a perpetual ferment. When, on the death of Elizabeth, James I. ascended the throne, these latter conceived hopes of seeing more prosperous days. These hopes were so much the more natural, as the king had received his education in Scotland, where the Puritans prevailed, and had, on some occasions, made the strongest declarations of his attachment to their ecclesiastical constitution. In a general assembly held at Edinburgh, in the year 1590, this prince is said to have made the following public declaration: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place, as to be the king of the sincerest (i. e. *purest*) kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keep pasche and yule (i. e. *Easter and Christmas.*) What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass, but the liftings (i. e. *the elevation of the host.*) I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same." And some of the first steps taken by this prince seemed to encourage these hopes, as he appeared desirous of assuming the character

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of an arbitrator, in order to accommodate matters between the church and the Puritans. But these expectations soon vanished; and, under the government of James, things put on a new face. As the desire of unlimited power was the reigning passion of this monarch, so all his measures, whether of a civil or religious nature, were calculated to answer this purpose. The Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government seemed less favourable to his views than the *episcopal hierarchy*; as the former exhibits a kind of *republic*, which is administered by various rulers of equal authority; while the latter approaches much nearer to the spirit of *monarchy*. The very name of a *republic synod*, or *council*, was odious to James, who dreaded every thing that had a popular aspect; hence he distinguished the bishops with peculiar marks of his favour, extended their authority, and publicly adopted and inculcated the maxim, *No bishop, no king*. At the same time, as the church of England had not yet abandoned the Calvinistical doctrine of *Predestination*, he adhered to them for some time, and gave his theological representatives, in the synod of Dort, an order to join in the condemnation of the sentiments of Arminius. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of remarkable wisdom, piety and gravity, and eminent zeal both for civil and religious liberty, whose lenity towards their ancestors the Puritans still celebrate in the highest strains, used his utmost endeavours to confirm the king in the principles of Calvinism, to which he himself was thoroughly attached. But scarcely had the British divines returned from the synod of Dort, and given an account of the doctrines that had been established by that assembly, than the king,
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together with the greatest part of the episcopal clergy, discovered, in the strongest terms, their dislike of these proceedings, and judged the sentiments of Arminius, preferable to those of Gomarus and Calvin. This sudden and unexpected change, in the theological opinions of the court and clergy, was certainly owing to a variety of reasons, as will appear to those who have any acquaintance with the transactions of these times. The principal one, must be sought in the plans of a further reformation of the church of England, that were proposed by several eminent ecclesiastics, whose intention was to bring it to as near a resemblance as was possible of the primitive church. And every one knows that the peculiar doctrines, to which the victory was assigned by the synod of Dort, were absolutely unknown in the first ages of the Christian church. This change was fatal to the interests of the *Puritans*; for, the king being indisposed to Calvinism, the Puritans were exposed anew to the animosity of their adversaries, which had been, for some time, suspended, but now broke out with redoubled vehemence, and at length kindled a religious war, whose consequences were deplorable beyond expression. In the year 1625, died James I. the bitterest enemy of the doctrine and discipline of the Puritans, to which he had been in his youth most warmly attached, the most ardent patron of the Arminians, in whose ruin in Holland he had been singularly instrumental, and the most zealous defender of episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms. He left the constitution of England, both ecclesiastical and civil, in a very unsettled state, languishing under intestine disorders of various kinds.

XII. His

XII. His son and successor Charles I. who had imbibed his political and religious principles, had nothing so much at heart as to bring to perfection what his father had left unfinished. All the exertions of his zeal, and the whole tenor of his administration, were directed towards the three following objects: "The extending the royal prerogative—the reduction of all the churches in Great Britain and Ireland under the jurisdiction of bishops—and lastly, the suppression of Calvinism, and the modelling of the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, and polity of the church of England, after the constitution of the primitive church." The person whom the king chiefly intrusted with the execution of this, was William Laud, bishop of London, who was afterwards raised in the year 1633, to the see of Canterbury, and exhibited in these high stations, a mixed character, composed of great qualities and great defects. The voice of justice must celebrate his erudition, his fortitude, his ingenuity, his zeal for the sciences, and his munificence to men of letters; and, at the same time, even charity must acknowledge, his inexcusable imprudence, his rigid attachment to the sentiments, rites, and institutions of the ancient church; and that spirit of persecution, that discovered itself in the whole course of his ecclesiastical administration. "Sincere he undoubtedly was (says Mr. Hume,) and, however misguided, was actuated by religious principles in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted, that a man of such spirit, who conducted his enterprizes with such warmth and industry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of human society." This prelate executed the plans

plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods, that prudence employs to make unpopular schemes go down. He carried things with a high hand; loaded the Puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction; he rejected the Calvinistical doctrine of Predestination in the year 1625, and substituted the Arminian system in its place; he revived many religious rites and ceremonies, which, though stamped with the sanction of antiquity, were thought to border on superstition; he forced bishops upon the Scotch-nation, which had shewn, on all occasions, the greatest reluctance against an episcopal government; and, lastly, he gave intimations, that he looked upon the Romish church, with all its errors, as preferable upon the whole, to those Protestant churches that were not subject to bishops. By these his unpopular measures, Laud drew an odium on the king, on himself, and on the episcopal order in general. Hence, in the year 1644, he was brought before the public tribunals of justice, iniquitously declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head on a scaffold, which sentence was accordingly executed.

After the death of Laud, the dissensions that had reigned for a long time between the king and parliament, grew still more violent, and arose at length to so great a height, that they could not be extinguished but by the blood of that excellent prince. The great council of the nation, heated by the violent suggestions of the Puritans, abolished episcopal government; and abrogated every thing in the ecclesiastical establishment that was contrary to the doctrine, and discipline
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of the church of Geneva; turned the vehemence of their opposition against the king himself, and having brought him into their power by the fate of arms, accused him of treason against the majesty of the nation; and, in the year 1648, while the eyes of Europe were fixed with astonishment on this strange spectacle, caused his head to be struck off on a public scaffold. Such are the calamities that flow from zeal without knowledge, from a blind and immoderate attachment to the external parts of religion, and to certain doctrines ill-understood! These tumults served also to confirm an observation often made, that all religious sects, while they are oppressed, are remarkable for inculcating the duties of moderation, forbearance, and charity towards those who dissent from them; but, as soon as they, in their turn, arrive at power and pre-eminence, they forget their own precepts and leave both the recommendation and practice of charity to those that groan under their yoke. Such, in reality, was the conduct of the Puritans during their transitory exaltation; they shewed as little clemency and equity to the bishops, and other patrons of episcopacy, as they had received from them when the reins of government were in their hands.

XIII. The Independents, who have been just mentioned among the promoters of civil discord in England, are generally represented by the British writers in a much worse light than the Presbyterians. They are commonly accused of having borne a principal part in the death of the king. But the truth is, the bold attempts of the civil Independents (*i. e.* of those warm republicans who were the declared enemies of monarchy, and wanted to extend the liberty of
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the people beyond all bounds of wisdom) have been unjustly laid to the charge of those Independents, whose principles were merely of a religious kind. The religious Independents derive their denomination from the following principle, that every Christian congregation ought to be governed by its own laws, without depending on the jurisdiction of bishops, or being subject to the authority of synods, presbyteries, or any ecclesiastical assembly, composed of deputies from different churches. It is in this their notion of ecclesiastical government, that the difference between them and the other Presbyterians consists; for their religious doctrines, are almost entirely the same with those of the church of Geneva. The founder of this sect was John Robinson, a man who had much of the solemn piety of the times, and was master of a congregation of *Brownists*, that had settled at Leyden. This well-meaning man, perceiving the defects that reigned in the discipline of Brown, and in the spirit and temper of his followers, employed his zeal and diligence in correcting them, and in modelling anew the society, in such a manner, as to render it less odious to his adversaries, and less liable to the just censure of those true Christians, who looked upon charity as the end of the commandment. The Independents, accordingly, were much more commendable than the Brownists in two respects. They surpassed them both in the moderation of their sentiments, and the order of their discipline. They did not, like Brown, pour forth bitter invectives against the churches that were governed by rules different from theirs, nor pronounce them, on that account, unworthy of the Christian name. On the contrary, though they considered their own form of

of ecclesiastical government as of divine institution, yet they had candour and charity enough to acknowledge, that true religion might flourish in those communities, which were under the jurisdiction of bishops, or the government of synods and presbyters. This community, which was originally formed in Holland, in the year 1610, made at first but a very small progress in England; it worked its way slowly, and its members concealed their principles from public view, to avoid the penal laws that had been enacted against *Non-conformists*. But during the reign of Charles I. when, amidst the shocks of civil and religious discord, the authority of the bishops began to decline, and more particularly about the year 1640, the *Independents* grew more courageous, and came forth to public view. After this period, their affairs took a prosperous turn; and, in a little time, they became so considerable, both by their numbers and reputation, that they vied in point of pre-eminence, not only with the bishops, but also with the *Presbyterians*. This rapid progress of the *Independents* was, no doubt, owing to a variety of causes; among which, justice obliges us to reckon, the learning of their teachers, and the regularity and sanctity of their manners. During the administration of Cromwell, whose peculiar patronage they enjoyed on more than one account, their credit arose to the greatest height: but after the restoration, their cause declined, and they fell back gradually into their primitive obscurity. The sect, indeed, still subsisted, but in such a state of weakness, as engaged them, in the year 1691, under the reign of King William, to enter into an association with the *Presbyterians* residing in and about London, under certain

heads of agreement that tended to the maintenance of their respective institutions.

XIV. While Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government, all sects, even those that dishonoured true religion in the most shocking manner, enjoyed a full and unbounded liberty of professing publicly their respective doctrines. The *Episcopalians* alone were excepted from this toleration, and received the most severe and iniquitous treatment. The bishops were deprived of their dignities and revenues, and felt the heavy hand of oppression in a particular manner. But though the toleration extended to all other religious communities, yet the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* were treated with peculiar favour. Cromwell, though attached to no particular sect, gave the latter extraordinary proofs of his good will, and augmented their credit, as this seemed the easiest method of setting bounds to the ambition of the *Presbyterians*, who aimed at a very high degree of ecclesiastical power. It was during this period of religious monarchy, that the *Fifth-monarchy-men* arose, a set of wrong-headed enthusiasts, who expected Christ's sudden appearance upon earth, to establish a new kingdom; and, acting in consequence of this illusion, aimed at the subversion of all human government, and were for turning all things into the most deplorable confusion.

XV. Among the various religious factions that sprung up in England, during this period of confusion and anarchy, we may reckon a certain sect of *Presbyterians*, who were called by their adversaries *Antinomians*. The Antinomians are a more rigid kind of Calvinists, who pervert Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees to the worst purposes, by drawing from it conclusions highly detrimental

detrimental to the interests of true religion. Several of the Antinomians (for they are not all of the same mind) look upon it as unnecessary for Christian ministers to exhort their flock to a pious obedience to the divine law, "since they whom God has *elect*ed to salvation, by an eternal and immutable decree, will, by the *irresistible* impulse of divine grace, be led to the practice of piety; while those who are doomed by a divine decree to eternal punishments, will never be engaged, by any exhortations, or admonitions, to a virtuous course; nor have they it in their power to obey the divine law, seeing the succours of divine grace are with-held from them." From these principles they concluded, that the ministers of the Gospel discharged sufficiently their pastoral functions, when they inculcated the necessity of *faith in Christ*, and proclaimed the blessings of the new covenant. Another form of *Antinomianism*, is that which is exhibited in the opinions of other doctors of that sect, who maintain, "That as the *elect* cannot fall from grace, nor forfeit the divine favour; so the wicked actions they commit, are not *really sinful*; and that, consequently, they have no occasion either to confess their sins, or to break them off by repentance. Thus, adultery, for example, in one of the *elect*, though it appear *sinful* in the sight of men, yet is it not a *sin* in the sight of God, because it is one of the essential characters of the elect, that *they cannot do any thing which is either displeasing to God, or prohibited by the law.*"

XVI. The public calamities, that flowed from these uncharitable disputes about religion, afflicted all wise and good men, and engaged several, who were not less eminent for their piety than for their moderation, to seek after some method of

uniting such of the contending parties as were capable of listening to charity and reason, or, at least, of calming their animosities, and persuading them to mutual forbearance. These doctors offered themselves as mediators between the violent *Episcopalians* on the one hand, and the rigid *Presbyterians*, and *Independents* on the other. The contests that reigned between the former, turned partly on the forms of church government, and partly on certain religious tenets, more especially those debated between the Arminians and Calvinists. To lessen the breach that kept these two great communities at such a distance from each other, the arbitrators endeavoured to render their charity more extensive, and widen the paths of salvation, which bigotry and party-rage had been labouring to render inaccessible to many good Christians. This truly evangelical method of proceeding, procured to its authors the denomination of *Latitudinarians*. Their views, indeed, were generous and extensive. They were zealously attached to the ecclesiastical government and worship that were established in the church of England, and they recommended episcopacy with all the power of their eloquence; but they did not go so far as to look upon it as of *divine institution*, or as indispensably necessary to the constitution of a Christian church; and hence they maintained, that those who followed other forms of government, were not, on that account, to be excluded from their communion, or to forfeit the title of Brethren. As to the doctrinal part of religion, they took the system of Episcopius for their model; and, like him, reduced the fundamental doctrines of Christianity (*i. e.* those doctrines, the belief of which is necessary to salvation) to a few points. By this manner

manner of proceeding, they shewed that neither the *Episcopalians*, who generally speaking, embraced the sentiments of the *Arminians*, nor the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who as generally adopted the doctrine of Calvin, had any reason to oppose each other with such bitterness; since the subjects of their debates were matters of an indifferent nature, with respect to salvation, and might be variously understood without any prejudice to their eternal interests. The chief leaders of these *Latitudinarians* were Hales and Chillingworth, whose names are still pronounced in England with veneration. The undertaking of these great men was bold and perilous; and it drew upon them many bitter reproaches. They received, as the first fruits of their charitable zeal, the appellations of *Atheists*, *Dieists*, and *Socinians*, both from the *Roman-catholics* and the more rigid of the contending *Protestant* parties: but, upon the restoration of King Charles II. they were raised to the first dignities of the church, and were deservedly held in universal esteem. At this time, the church of England is chiefly governed by *Latitudinarians* of this kind; though there be among both bishops and clergy, from time to time, ecclesiastics who breathe the narrow spirit of *Laud*, and who, in the language of faction, are called *High-churchmen*.

XVII. No sooner was Charles II. re-established on the throne, than the ancient forms of ecclesiastical government and public worship were restored, and the bishops re-instated in their former dignities and honours. The *Non-conformists* hoped, that they should be allowed to share some part of the honours and revenues of the church; but their expectations were disappointed, and the face of affairs changed suddenly with respect

to them. For Charles subjected to the government of bishops, the churches of Scotland and Ireland; and, in the year 1662, a public law was enacted, by which all who refused to observe the rites, and subscribe the doctrines of the church of England, were entirely excluded from its communion. From this period, until the reign of King William III. the *Non-conformists* were in a precarious situation, sometimes involved in calamity, at others, enjoying some intervals of tranquillity, according to the varying spirit of the court and ministry; but never free from perplexities and fears. But, in the year 1689, their affairs took a favourable turn, when a bill for the *toleration* of all Protestant dissenters, except the Socinians, passed in parliament almost without opposition, and delivered them from the penal laws in which they had been subjected. This was the famous *Act*, in consequence of which the validity of Presbyterian ordination was renounced; the ministrations of the foreign churches disowned; the terms of conformity rendered more difficult than before the civil wars; and by which (contrary to the manner of proceeding in the times of Elizabeth and Cromwell, who both reserved for the subsistence of each ejected clergyman a fifth part of his benefice) no provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings. Nor did the Protestant dissenters in England enjoy alone the benefits of this act; for it extended also to the Scotch-church, which was permitted thereby to follow the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva, and was delivered from the jurisdiction of bishops, and from the forms of worship that were annexed to episcopacy. It is from this period, that the *Non-conformists* date the liberty they have long been blessed with, and still enjoy.

XVIII. In the reign of king William, and in the year 1689, the divisions among the friends of episcopacy ran high, and terminated in that famous schism in the church of England, which has never hitherto been healed. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and seven of the other Non-juring bishops, viz. Dr. Lloyd, of Norwich; Dr. Turner, of Ely; Dr. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr. Frampton, of Gloucester; Dr. Thomas, of Worcester; Dr. Lake, of Chichester, and Dr. White, bishop of Peterborough; all of whom were eminently distinguished both by their learning and their virtue, looked upon it as unlawful to take the oath of allegiance to the new king, from a mistaken notion that James II. though banished from his dominions, remained, nevertheless, their rightful sovereign. As these scruples were deeply rooted, and no arguments could engage these prelates to acknowledge the title of William III. to the crown of Great-Britain, they were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and their sees were filled by other men of eminent merit. These were Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, and Cumberland; names that will be ever pronounced with veneration by such as are capable of esteeming solid, well-employed learning and genuine piety, and that will always shine among the brightest ornaments of the church of England. The deposed bishops and clergy formed a new episcopal church, which differed, in certain points of doctrine, and certain circumstances of public worship, from the established church of England. This new religious community were denominated *Non-jurors*, on account of their refusing to take the oath of allegiance. They maintained, that the church was independent on the
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the jurisdiction of king and parliament, subject to the authority of God alone, and empowered to govern itself by its own laws; that, of consequence, the sentence pronounced against these prelates, by the great council of the nation, was destitute both of justice and validity; and that it was only by the decree of an ecclesiastical council that a bishop could be deposed.

XIX. The Non-jurors differ in several things from the members of the episcopal church; more particularly in the following principles:

1. *That it is never lawful for the people, under any provocation or pretext whatever, to resist the sovereign.* This is called in England, *passive obedience.* 2. *That the hereditary succession to the throne is of divine institution, and therefore, can never be interrupted, suspended, or annulled, on any pretext.* 3. *That the church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God alone, particularly in matters of a religious nature.* 4. *That, consequently, Sancroft and the other bishops, deposed by king William III. remained, notwithstanding their deposition, true bishops to the day of their death; and that those who were substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property.*

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Arminian Church.

I. THE Arminians derive their name and their origin from James Arminius, or Harmensen, who was first pastor at Amsterdam, afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden, and who attracted the esteem and applause of his very enemies,

enemies, by his acknowledged candour, penetration, and piety. They received also the denomination of *Remonstrants*, from an humble petition, entitled their *Remonstrances*, which they addressed, in the year 1610, to the states of Holland; and as the patrons of Calvinism presented an address, in opposition to this, which they called their *Counter-remonstrances*, so did they, in consequence thereof, receive the name of *Counter-remonstrants*.

II. Arminius, though he had imbibed, in his tender years, the doctrines of Geneva, and had even received his theological education in the university of that city, yet rejected, when he arrived at the age of manhood, the sentiments, concerning predestination, that are adopted by the greatest part of the Reformed churches, and embraced the principles of those who extended the love of the Supreme Being, and the *merits* of *Jesus Christ*, to all mankind. As time and deep meditation had only served to confirm him in these principles, he thought himself obliged to profess them publicly, when he had obtained the chair of divinity in the university of Leyden, and to oppose the doctrine of Calvin on these heads, which had been followed by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy. Two considerations encouraged him, in a particular manner, to venture upon this open declaration of his sentiments; he was persuaded, there were many persons, besides himself, and among these, some of the first rank and dignity, that were highly disgusted at the doctrine of absolute decrees; and, he knew that the Belgic doctors were neither obliged by their confession of faith, nor by any other public law, to adopt the principles of Calvin. Thus encouraged, Arminius taught
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his sentiments publicly, with great freedom and equal success, and persuaded many of the truth of his doctrine; but as Calvinism was at this time in a flourishing state in Holland, this freedom procured him a multitude of enemies, and drew upon him the severest resentment from those that adhered to the theological system of Geneva, and more especially from Francis Gomar, his colleague. Thus commenced that long, and intricate controversy, that afterwards made such a noise in Europe. Arminius died in the year 1609. There is, in his manner of reasoning, and also in his phraseology, some little remains of the scholastic jargon of that age; but we find nevertheless in his writings, upon the whole, much of that simplicity and perspicuity, which his followers have always looked upon, as among the principal qualities of a Christian minister.

III. After the death of Arminius, the combat seemed to be carried on, during some years, between the contending parties, with equal success; so that it was not easy to foresee which side would gain the ascendant. The demands of the Arminians were moderate; they required no more than a bare toleration for their religious sentiments; and some of the first men in the republic, such as Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and several others, looked upon these demands as just. It was the opinion of these great men, that as the points in debate had not been determined by the *Belgic Confession of Faith*, every individual had a right to judge for himself; and that more especially in a free state. In consequence of this persuasion, they used their utmost efforts to accommodate matters, and left no methods unemployed to engage the Calvinists to treat

treat with Christian moderation their dissenting brethren. These efforts were at first attended with some success. Maurice, prince of Orange, and the Princess Dowager his mother, countenanced these pacific measures. Hence a conference was held, in the year 1611, at the Hague, between the contending parties; another at Delft, in the year 1613: and hence also that pacific edict issued out in 1614, by the states of Holland, to exhort them to charity and mutual forbearance. But the Calvinists were persuaded, that the Arminians aimed at nothing less than the ruin of all religion; and hence they censured their magistrates with great warmth, for interposing their authority to promote peace with such adversaries.

IV. It is worthy of observation, that this unhappy controversy, which assumed another form after the synod of Dort, was, at this time, confined to the doctrines relating to Predestination and Grace. The sentiments of the Arminians concerning these points were comprehended in *five articles*. They held, "1. That God, from all eternity, determined to bestow salvation on those whom he foresaw would persevere unto the end in their faith in Christ Jesus; and to inflict everlasting punishments on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist, unto the end, his divine succours:

"2. That Jesus Christ, by his death and sufferings, made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular:—that, however, none but those who believe in him partake of their divine benefit.

"3. That *true faith* cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties, nor from the force and operation of free-will; since man, in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable

pable either of thinking or doing any good thing; and that therefore it is necessary to his conversion and salvation, that he be *regenerated* and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ.

" 4. That this *Divine Grace*, or energy of the Holy Ghost, which heals the disorder of a corrupt nature, begins, advances, and brings to perfection, every thing that can be called *good* in man; and that, consequently, all good works, are to be attributed to God alone, and to the operation of his grace; that, nevertheless, his grace does not *force* the man against his inclination, but may be *resisted* and rendered *ineffectual* by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.

" 5. That they who are united to Christ by faith, are thereby furnished with strength, sufficient to enable them to triumph over the seduction of Satan, and the allurements of sin; but that the question, *Whether such MAY fall from their faith, and forfeit finally this state of grace?* has not been yet resolved with sufficient perspicuity; and must, therefore, be yet more carefully examined by an attentive study of the holy Scriptures."

It is to be observed, that this last article was afterwards changed by the Arminians, who, in process of time, positively affirmed, that *the saints might fall from a state of grace.*

V. The favourable treatment the Arminians received from the magistrates of Holland, and from several persons of distinction, encouraged them to hope, that their affairs would take a prosperous turn, when an unexpected and sudden storm arose against them, and blasted their expectations.

pectations. A secret misunderstanding had for some time subsisted between the Stadtholder Maurice, prince of Orange, and some of the principal magistrates and ministers of the republic, such as Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets; and this misunderstanding had at length broke out into an open enmity. The views of this great prince are differently represented by different historians. Some alledge, that he had formed the design of getting himself declared count of Holland. Others affirm, that he only aspired after a greater degree of authority than seemed consistent with the liberties of the republic; it is certain, some of the principal persons in the government suspected him of aiming at supreme dominion. The leading men above-mentioned opposed these designs; and these leading men were the patrons of the Arminians. The Arminians adhered to these their patrons, without whose aid they could have no prospect of security. Their adversaries the Gomarists, on the contrary, espoused the interests of the prince, and inflamed his resentment, which had been already kindled by various suggestions, to the disadvantage of the Arminians, and of those who protected them. Thus, after mutual suspicions, the flame broke out with violence; and Maurice resolved the downfall of those who ruled the republic, without shewing a proper regard to his counsels; and, also of the Arminians, who espoused their cause. The leading men, that sat at the helm of government, were cast into prison. Oldenbarneveldt, a man of gravity and wisdom, whose hairs were grown grey in the service of his country, lost his life on a public scaffold; while Grotius and Hoogerbeets were condemned to a perpetual prison, under what pretext, is un-

known to us. As the Arminians were not charged with any violation of the laws, but merely with departing from the established religion, their cause was not of such a nature as rendered it cognizable by a civil tribunal. That, however, this cause might be regularly condemned, it was judged proper to bring it before an ecclesiastical assembly. This method of proceeding was agreeable to the sentiments of the Calvinists, who are of opinion that all religious controversies ought to be decided by an ecclesiastical council.

VI. Accordingly a synod was convoked at Dort, in the year 1618,^a at which were present ecclesiastical deputies from the United Provinces, as also from the churches of England, Hesse, Bremen, Switzerland, and the Palatinate. The leading men among the Arminians appeared before this assembly, to defend their cause; and they had at their head, Simon Episcopius, who was, at that time, professor of divinity at Leyden, had formerly been the disciple of Arminius, and was admired, even by his enemies, on account of the depth of his judgment, the extent of his learning, and the force of his eloquence. This eminent man addressed a discourse, full of moderation, and gravity, to the assembled divines; but this was no sooner finished, than difficulties arose, which prevented the *conference* the Arminians had demanded, in order to shew the grounds, in reason and scripture, on which their opinions were founded. The Arminian deputies proposed

^a The legitimacy of the manner of convoking this synod was questioned by Oldenbarneveldt, who maintained that the States-General had no sort of authority in matters of religion, nor even the power of assembling a synod; affirming that this was an act of sovereignty, that belonged to each province separately.

to begin the defence of their cause by refuting the opinions of their adversaries. This proposal was rejected by the synod, which required them first to declare and prove their own opinions. It is more than probable, that one of the principal reasons, that engaged the members of the synod to reject this proposal, was a consideration of the genius and eloquence of Episcopius, and an apprehension of the effects they might produce upon the multitude. When all the methods employed to persuade the Arminians to submit to the manner of proceeding, proposed by the synod, proved ineffectual, they were excluded from the assembly, and returned home, complaining bitterly of the partiality with which they had been treated. Their cause was nevertheless tried in their absence, they were pronounced guilty of pestilential errors, and condemned as corrupters of the true religion. This sentence was followed by the excommunication of the Arminians, the suppression of their religious assemblies, and the deprivation of their ministers.

VII. The sanctity, wisdom, and virtue of this synod have been exalted beyond all measure by the Calvinists, while their partiality, violence, and other defects, have been exaggerated by the Arminians. There is no sort of doubt, but that, among the members of this assembly, who sat in judgment upon the Arminians, there were several persons of learning, and piety, who had not the least notion, that the steps they were taking, were inconsistent with equity and wisdom. On the other hand, it appears with the utmost evidence, that the Arminians had reason to complain of several circumstances. It is plain, in the first place, that the ruin of their community

was a point, not only premeditated, but determined even before the meeting of the synod; and that this synod was not so much assembled to examine the doctrine of the Arminians, in order to see whether it was worthy of toleration, as to execute with a solemnity, and with an air of justice, a sentence already agreed upon by those who had the direction in these affairs. It is further to be observed, that the accusers and adversaries of the Arminians were their judges, and that Bogerman, who presided in this famous synod, was distinguished by his peculiar hatred of that sect; that neither the Dutch nor foreign divines had the liberty of giving their suffrage according to their own private sentiments; that the influence of the lay-deputies, who appeared in the synod with commissions from the States-general and the prince of Orange, was superior to that of the ecclesiastical members, who sat as judges; and, lastly, that the solemn promise, made to the Arminians, when they were summoned before the synod, that *they should be allowed the freedom of explaining and defending their opinions, as far as they thought proper, or necessary to their justification*, was manifestly violated.

VIII. The Arminians, in consequence of the decision of the synod, were considered as enemies of their country; and were accordingly treated with great severity. They were deprived of all their posts and employments, whether ecclesiastical or civil; and, which they looked upon as a yet more intolerable instance of rigour, their ministers were silenced, and their congregations suppressed. They refused obedience to the order, by which their pastors were prohibited from performing their ministerial functions; and

and thus drew upon themselves anew the resentment of their superiors, who punished them by fines, imprisonment, exile, and other marks of ignominy. To avoid these vexations, many of them retired to Antwerp, others fled to France; while a considerable number, accepting the invitation sent to them by Frederick, duke of Holstein, formed a colony, in the dominions of that prince, and built for themselves a handsome town called Frederickstadt, in the dutchy of Sleswyck, where they still live happy and unmolested, in the free exercise of their religion. The heads of this colony were persons of distinction, who had been obliged to leave their native country, particularly Adrian Vander Wael, who was the first governor of the new city.

IX. After the death of Prince Maurice, which happened in the year 1625, the Arminian exiles experienced the clemency of his brother and successor, Frederick Henry, under whose administration they were recalled from banishment, and restored to their former tranquillity. Those who had taken refuge in the kingdom of France and in the Spanish Netherlands, were the first that returned to their native country, where they erected churches in several places, and more particularly in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, under the mild shade of a religious toleration. That they might also have a public seminary of learning for the instruction of their youth, and the propagation of their theological principles, they founded a college at Amsterdam, in which two professors were appointed to instruct the candidates for the ministry, in the various branches of literature and science, sacred and profane. Simon Episcopius was the first professor of theology among the Arminians; and since his time, the

seminary now mentioned has been, generally speaking, furnished with professors eminent for their learning and genius.

X. The great and ultimate end the Arminians seem to have in view, is, that Christians, though divided in their opinions, may be united in fraternal love, and be formed into one family or community. Thus the wide bosom of the Arminian church is opened to all who live as Christians, however they may differ from each other in their theological opinions. The papists alone are excluded from this extensive communion, and this because they esteem it lawful to persecute those who will not submit to the yoke of the Roman pontiff. They all, indeed, unanimously adhere to the doctrine that excluded their ancestors from the communion of the Reformed churches, *even that the love of God extends itself equally to all mankind; that no mortal is rendered finally unhappy by an eternal and invincible decree; and that the misery of those that perish comes from themselves.* But they now explain this doctrine in different manner. Be that as it may, this is the fundamental doctrine of the Arminians, and whoever opposes it, becomes thereby an adversary to the whole community; whereas those, whose objections are levelled at particular tenets which are found in the writings of the Arminian divines, cannot be said, with any degree of propriety, to attack or censure the Arminian church.

XI. The Arminian church makes, at present, but an inconsiderable figure, when compared with the Reformed. The Arminians have still in the United Provinces thirty-four congregations, which are furnished with eighty-four pastors; besides these, their church at Frederic-
stadt,

stadt, in the dutchy of Holstein, still subsists. It cannot however be said, that the credit and influence of their religious principles have declined with the external lustre of their community; since it is well known, that their sentiments were early adopted in several countries, and were secretly received by many who had not the courage to profess them openly. Every one is acquainted with the change that has taken place in the established church of England, whose clergy, generally speaking, since the time of archbishop Laud, have embraced the Arminian doctrine. The same which the chief of the English Reformers, namely, bishop Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, with archbishop Cranmer, held from the beginning. But they that fled to Geneva, in the *Marian* persecution, sucked in Calvinism there, and at their return, propagated it with all diligence, in their native country. Even the United Provinces, which saw within their bosom the defeat of Arminianism, are at this time sensible of a considerable change in that respect; for while the patrons of Calvinism in that republic acknowledge, that the community, which makes an external profession of Arminianism, declines gradually in its numbers; they complain, that its doctrines gain ground from day to day; that they have even insinuated themselves into the bosom of the established church. The progress of Arminianism in other countries is abundantly known; and its votaries in France, Geneva, and many parts of Switzerland, are certainly very numerous.

C H A P. IV.

The HISTORY of the QUAKERS.

I. **T**HE *Quakers* received this denomination, in the year 1650, from Gervas Bennet, Esq; a justice of peace in Derbyshire, partly on account of the convulsive agitations and shakings of the body with which their discourses to the people were usually attended, and partly on account of the exhortation addressed to this magistrate by Fox and his companions, who, when they were called before him, desired him, with a loud voice and a vehement emotion of the body, to *tremble at the word of the Lord*. However odd this appellation may be, when considered in its origin, the members of this sect are willing to adopt it, provided it be rightly understood. In their conversation and intercourse with each other, they use no other term of appellation than that of *Friend*.

This sect had its rise in England, in those unhappy times of anarchy, and civil discord, when every political or religious fanatic, that had formed new plans of government, or invented new systems of theology, came forth with his novelties to public view, and propagated them with impunity. Its parent and founder was *George Fox*, a shoe-maker, of a melancholy complexion, and of an enthusiastic turn of mind. About the year 1647, which was the twenty-third of his age, he began to stroll through several counties in England, exhorting the people to attend to the voice of the *divine word*, that lies hid in the hearts of all men. After the death of Charles I. when all laws both civil
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and ecclesiastical seemed to be suspended, Fox exerted his powers with new vigour, and formed more extensive views. Having acquired a considerable number of disciples of both sexes, he excited great tumults in several parts of England; and, in the year 1650, went so far as to disturb the devotion of those who were assembled in the churches for public worship. For these extravagances, both he and his companions were frequently cast into prison, as disturbers of the peace, by the civil magistrate.

II. This first association of the *Quakers* was composed mostly of persons that seemed to be disordered in their brains; and hence they committed many enormities, which the modern Quakers neither justify nor approve. For the greatest part of them were riotous and tumultuous in the highest degree; and even their female disciples, forgetting the delicacy and decency peculiar to their sex, bore their part in these disorders. They ran through towns and villages, declaiming against episcopacy, presbyterianism, and every fixed form of religion; railed at public and stated worship; affronted and mocked the clergy, even in the very exercise of their ministerial function; trampled upon the laws and upon the authority of the magistrates, under the pretext of being actuated by a divine impulse; and made use of their pretended inspiration to excite commotions both in state and church. Hence it is not at all surprising, that the secular arm was at length raised against these fanatics, and that many of them were severely chastised for their extravagance and folly. Cromwell himself, who was, generally speaking, an enemy to no sect, however enthusiastical it might be, entertained uneasy apprehensions from

from the frantic violence of the Quakers, and therefore, in his first thoughts, formed a resolution to suppress them. But when he perceived that they treated with contempt both his promises and threatenings, and were too powerful or too headstrong to yield to either, he prudently abstained from the use of force, and contented himself with employing wise precautions to prevent their fomenting sedition among the people.

III. In process of time, the fumes of his excessive fanaticism began to evaporate, and the impetuosity of the rising sect seemed gradually to subside; nor did the *divine light*, of which the Quakers boast, produce such tumults in church and state, as at first. Under the reign of Charles II. both their religious doctrine and discipline assumed a more regular form, by the care and industry of Robert Barclay, George Keith, and Samuel Fisher. Fox stood in urgent need of such able assistants; for his gross ignorance had rendered his religion, hitherto, a confused medley of incoherent tenets. The new triumvirate, therefore, used their utmost endeavours to digest these under certain heads, and to reduce them to a sort of system. But such was the change of times, that the wiser and more moderate Quakers in England suffered more vexations, than had fallen to the lot of their frantic ancestors. These vexations, indeed, were not so much the consequence of their religious principles, as of their singular customs in civil life. For they would never give to magistrates those titles of honour that are designed to mark the respect due to their authority: they also refused to take the oath of allegiance to their sovereign, and to pay tithes to the clergy; hence they were

were looked upon as rebellious subjects; and on that account, were frequently punished with great severity. Under the reign of James II. and more particularly about the year 1685, they began to see more prosperous days, and to enjoy the sweets of toleration, which they owed not to the clemency of the government, but to the friendship of that monarch for the famous William Penn, who had been employed by him in matters of the utmost moment, and had rendered him important services. What James had done, from motives of a personal or political nature, in favour of the Quakers, King William III. confirmed and continued, from a zeal for maintaining the rights of conscience, and advancing the cause of religious liberty. From these motives, he produced a full and ample toleration for dissenters of almost all denominations; and the Quakers, in consequence of this grant, enjoyed at length tranquillity and freedom.

IV. Fatigued with the vexations which they suffered in their native country during the reign of Charles II. the Quakers looked about for some distant settlements, where they might shelter themselves from the storm; and with this view began to disseminate their religious principles in various countries. Attempts of this nature were made in Germany, Prussia, France, Italy, Greece, Holland, and Holstein, but with little success. The Dutch, however, were, after much importunity, persuaded to allow a certain number of them to settle in Holland, where they still continue to reside. Multitudes of them also went over to America, and formed settlements there not long after their first rise; and it afterwards happened, by a singular concurrence of events, that this new world became the chief seat of their prosperity.

prosperity. William Penn, son of the famous vice-admiral of that name, who embraced Quakerism in the year 1668, received, in the year 1680, from Charles II. and from the English parliament, the grant of an ample, fertile, but uncultivated province in America, as a reward for the eminent services of his father. This illustrious Quaker, who was far from being destitute of parts, and whose activity and penetration were accompanied with an uncommon degree of eloquence, carried over with him into his new dominions a considerable colony of his *Friends*; and founded in those distant regions a republic, whose form, laws, and institutions resembled no other known system of government, whose pacific principles and commercial spirit have long blessed it with tranquillity and opulence. The Quakers predominate in this colony, both by their influence and their numbers; but all those who acknowledge the existence and providence of one Supreme Being, and shew their respect to that Being, either by external worship, or at least by the regularity of their lives, are admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in this happy republic. The large province that constitutes its territory was called Pennsylvania, from the name of its proprietor; and its capital city was named Philadelphia, from the spirit of fraternal love that reigned among its inhabitants.

V. Yet even during the life of their founder, the Quakers were frequently divided into parties, and involved in contests and debates. These debates, indeed, which were carried on in the years 1656, 1661, and 1683, with peculiar warmth, were not occasioned by any doctrines of a religious nature, but by a diversity of opinions about matters of discipline, and they were generally

generally terminated in a short time, and without much difficulty. But, after the death of Fox, which happened in the year 1691, some *Friends*, and more especially George Keith, who was by far the most learned member of the community, excited new discords of a much more serious kind. This fountain of contention was opened in Pennsylvania, where Keith was charged with erroneous opinions, which would perhaps have passed without censure, had not this learned man animadverted with severity, upon some of the fantastic notions of the American Brethren, and opposed, in a more particular manner, their method of converting the whole history of Christ's life and sufferings into a mere allegory. The European Quakers dared not so far presume upon the indulgence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as to deny openly the *reality* of the history of the life, mediation, and sufferings of Christ; but, in America, some of them maintained publicly, that Christ never existed, but in the hearts of the *faithful*. This point was debated between Keith and his adversaries, in several general assemblies held in England, and was at length brought before the parliament. The contest was terminated, in the year 1695, by the excommunication of Keith and his adherents, which so exasperated this famous Quaker, that he returned, some years after this, into the bosom of the English church, and died in its communion.^b

^b Bishop Burnet, who was certainly better acquainted with the history of Keith (with whom he had been educated) than Dr. Mosheim, attributes his return to the church of England to a much worthier motive than resentment. He tells us, that Keith after the American Quakers had appeared to him as little better than Deists, opposed them so warmly, that they sent him back to

VI. The religion of the Quakers, has an air of novelty that strikes at first sight; but, when viewed closely, it will appear to be nothing more than a certain modification of that *mystic theology*, which arose so early as the second century, was embellished by the luxuriant fancy of Origen, and passing through various hands, assumed different aspects, until it was adopted by the Quakers, who set it off with new additions of their own. Fox, indeed, is not chargeable with these inventions; his ignorance places him beyond the reach of suspicion; but it is undoubtedly certain, that all his doctrine concerning the *internal word*, and the divine light within, its operations and effects, was borrowed from the writings of the Mystics, which were, at that time, in the hands of many, or picked up from the conversation of some Mystics. The tenets, however, which this illiterate man expressed in a rude and confused manner, were dressed up and presented under a different form by the masterly hands of Barclay, Keith, Fisher, and Penn, who digested them with such sagacity and art, that they assumed the aspect of a regular system.

Most people are opinion, that we are to learn the true doctrine of the Quakers from the *Catechism* of Robert Barclay, and more especially from his *Apology*, which was published at London, in the year 1676. But if any maintain, that these books contain all the religious tenets that have formerly been advanced, or are at present

England. Here he opened a new meeting, and by a printed summons called together the whole party to convince them of these errors. "He continued these meetings, says the bishop, being still, in outward appearance, a Quaker, for some years; till, having prevailed as far as he saw any appearance of success, he laid aside their exterior, and was reconciled to the church."

adopted,

adopted, by the people called *Quakers*, they may be refuted, without difficulty, from a great variety of books. It is necessary to enter into the true spirit of Barclay's writings. This ingenious man appeared as a *Patron* and *Defender* of Quakerism, and not as a professed teacher; and he interpreted and modified the opinions of this sect after the manner of an advocate, who undertakes the defence of a bad cause. In the first place, he observes an entire silence in relation to those fundamental principles of Christianity, concerning which it is of great consequence to know the real opinions of the Quakers; and thus exhibits a system of theology that is evidently lame and imperfect. It is observable, in the second place, that Barclay touches in a slight, superficial, and hasty manner, some tenets, which, when amply explained, had exposed the Quakers to censures. Lastly, he employs the greatest dexterity and art in softening and modifying those invidious doctrines, which he cannot conceal; for which purpose he carefully avoids all those phrases that are made use of by the Quakers, and are peculiar to their sect, and expresses their tenets in ordinary language, in terms of a vague and indefinite nature, and in a style that casts a sort of mask over their natural aspect. At this rate, the most enormous errors may be held with impunity; for there is no doctrine, however absurd, to which a plausible air may not be given, by following the insidious method of Barclay; and it is well known, that even the doctrine of Spinoza was, with a like artifice, dressed out and disguised by some of his disciples.

VII. The fundamental doctrine of Quakerism, from whence all their other tenets are derived, is,

that ancient opinion of the Mystic school, "*That there lies concealed in the minds of all men a certain portion of divine reason, a spark of the same wisdom that exists in the Supreme Being.*" Therefore, those who are desirous of arriving at eternal salvation, must, by contemplation, and perpetual efforts to subdue their sensual affections, endeavour to draw forth, kindle, and inflame that *divine, hidden spark*, which is overpowered by the *darkness of the flesh*, and suffocated, as it were, by that mass of matter with which it is surrounded. They who observe this rule will feel a divine glow of warmth and light, and hear a divine voice proceeding from the inward recesses of their souls; and by this light they will be led to all truth, and be perfectly assured of their union with the Supreme Being." This hidden treasure, which is possessed, though not improved, by all the human race, bears different denominations in their language. They frequently call it *divine light*, sometimes *a ray of the eternal wisdom*, at others, the *heavenly Sophia*, whom they suppose married to a mortal, and whose wedding garments some of their writers describe with the most pompous eloquence. But the most usual epithets given it are those of the *internal word*, and of *Christ within*; for as, on the one hand, they adopt that doctrine of the ancient Mystics, which represents Christ, as the eternal reason, or wisdom of God; and, on the other, maintain, that all men are endowed naturally with a certain portion of it; they are thus directly led to affirm, that Christ, or the *word of God*, dwells and speaks in the hearts of all men. But it is to be observed, that the modern Quakers, are, generally speaking, ignorant of the system of their ancestors, and perpetually confound the innate, divine

divine light above-mentioned, with the operations of the Holy Ghost in the minds of the faithful.

VIII. All the singularities and fancies, that are to be found in the religious system of the Quakers, are the immediate consequences of this fundamental principle. For since Christ resides in the inward frame of every mortal; it follows, “*First*, that the whole of religion consists in calling off the mind from external objects, in weakening the influence of the outward senses, and in every one’s entering into the inmost recesses of his heart, and listening to the divine instructions, that the *internal word*, or Christ *within*, delivers there; *secondly*, that the *external word*, i. e. the holy Scripture, neither points out the way of salvation, nor leads men to it; since it only consists of *letters* and *words*, which being *void of life*, have not efficacy and power, sufficient to *illuminate* the human mind and to unite it to God. The only advantage that results from a perusal of the holy Scriptures, is, that they excite the mind to listen to the dictates of the *internal word*, and to go to the school of Christ, who teaches *within them*; or, to express the same thing in other words, they look upon the Bible as a mute master, who, by signs and figures, points out that *living master* and effectual guide who dwells in the mind. *Thirdly*, that they who are without this written word, such as the Jews, Mahometans, and savage nations, are not removed from the path of salvation, though they want this inferior and subordinate help. For if they only attend to this *inward teacher*, who always *speaks* when the *man* is *silent*, they will learn abundantly, from him, all that is necessary to be known and practised in order to their final

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happines;

happiness; that of consequence, *fourthly*, the kingdom of Christ is of a vast extent, and comprehends the whole race of mankind. For all have Christ within them, and therefore, even those who live in the grossest ignorance of the Christian religion, are capable of obtaining, through him, wisdom here, and happiness hereafter." They *lastly*, "look upon it as incredible, that God should ever again shut up, in the same material habitation, the souls that are set free by death from their bodily prison; and therefore they affirm, that the Gospel-account of the resurrection of the body must be interpreted in a figurative sense."

IX. It appears evidently from all this, that the existence of the man Christ Jesus, together with the circumstantial accounts, we have in Scripture, of his divine origin, his life, and actions, his satisfaction, merits, and sufferings, make no essential part of the theological system of the Quakers, which derives the whole plan and method of salvation from the Christ *within*. Yet they hold, "That the divine *wisdom* or *reason* resided in the *Son* of the Virgin Mary, and conveyed its instructions to mankind by his ministry;" and profess to believe, "that this divine man *really* did and suffered what is recorded concerning him by the sacred writers." It is nevertheless certain, that they express themselves in a very ambiguous manner on many points that relate to the history of our Saviour; and, in a more particular manner, their notions concerning the fruits of his sufferings, and the efficacy of his death, are so vague and obscure, that it is very difficult to know what is their real opinion about the degree of this efficacy and the nature of these fruits.

X. The

X. The religious discipline, worship and practice of the Quakers, flow from the same original source, as their doctrine. They meet for the purposes of religion on the same days which are set apart for the celebration of public worship in all other Christian churches; but they neither observe festivals, nor use external rites, nor suffer religion, which they place entirely in the mental worship of the *Hidden Christ*, to be cramped by positive institutions. All the members of their community, whether male or female, have an equal right to teach and exhort in their public meetings; for who, say they, will presume to exclude from the liberty of speaking, those persons in whom Christ dwells, and by whom he speaks? They reject the use of prayers, hymns, and outward forms of devotion; and this, indeed, is an instance of their consistency with themselves, as it is the immediate consequence of their religious system; for, in their judgment it is not the person who expresses his desires in a set form of words, that can be said to pray truly, but who withdraws his mind from every outward object, silences every inward motion and affection, and plunges it, as it were, into the abyss of Deity. They neither observe the institution of *Baptism*, nor renew the remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits that result from it, by the celebration of the *Eucharist*. They alledge, our Saviour observed them for no other end than to shew for once, in a visible manner, the mystical purification of the soul, under the figure of baptism, and the spiritual nourishment of the inward man, under that of the Eucharist.

XI. The moral doctrine of the Quakers, is chiefly comprehended in the two following precepts:

cepts: *First*, "That the faithful are to avoid entirely every thing that tends to gratify the external senses and passions, every thing that can be ranked under the denomination of sensual or bodily pleasure." *Secondly*, All those external manners, that go by the name of civility, as also several matters of form, usual in the conduct of life, and in the connexions of human society, are strictly prohibited as unlawful. Hence they are easily distinguished from all other Christian sects, by their outward deportment and their manner of life. They never salute any person they meet in their way, nor employ in their conversation the usual manner of address and the appellations that civility and custom have rendered a matter of decency, at least, if not of duty; they never express their respect for magistrates or persons in authority, either by bodily gestures, titles of honour, or in general by any of the marks of homage that are paid them by persons of all other denominations. They renounce the right of self-defence, and let pass with impunity, and even without resistance, the attacks that are made on their possessions, their reputation, nay, on their lives. They refuse to confirm their testimonies by an oath, to appear in behalf of their property before a civil tribunal. To these negative parts of their external conduct, they add peculiar circumstances of a positive kind, that discover the same austere, stiff, proud, and formal spirit; for they distinguish themselves, in a striking manner, from the rest of their fellow-citizens, by the gravity of their aspect, the rustic simplicity of their apparel, the affected tone of their voice, and the stiffness of their conversation. It is, however certain, that the modern, and more especially

pecially the English Quakers, have departed from this austere manner of life, and daily grow more reconciled to the outward pleasures and enjoyments of the world.

XII. The principles of this community seem to exclude the very idea of order, discipline, and ecclesiastical government. Its leading members, however, began to perceive, in process of time, that without laws and rulers it could not subsist. They accordingly erected a council of *Elders*, who discuss and determine matters of a doubtful or difficult nature, and use all possible care in inspecting the conduct of the Brethren, and in preventing whatever they look upon as prejudicial to the interests of the community. The names of those that enter into the state of wedlock are given in to those leading members, who also keep an exact register of births and deaths. They exercise, moreover, a certain degree of authority over those who speak in their meetings; for since the abuse that was made of the unbounded liberty that every individual had to speak and harangue when the *spirit moved him*, new regulations have been observed; and this liberty has been considerably modified, in several places. There are also in some of the more considerable congregations, and more especially in those at London, certain persons whose vocation it is to be always prepared to speak, in case none of the congregation find themselves *inwardly moved* or disposed to perform that office. It is indeed to be observed, that this public discourse is not looked upon by the Quakers as an essential part of their worship; for the *Brethren* and *Sisters* do not meet that they may hear the words of an external teacher, but that they may listen to the voice of the *divine instructor*, which every

every one carries with him, in his own breast, or, to use their own phrase, that they may *commune with themselves*.

The Quakers have annually, a general assembly of the whole sect, which meets at London, the week before Whit-Sunday, and is composed of deputies from all their particular congregations.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Mennonites, or Anabaptists.

I. **A**FTER various scenes of trial, the Mennonites found, during this century, the tranquillity they had long sought in vain. They arrived, indeed, at this state of repose by very slow steps; for though, in the preceding age, they were admitted to the rights of citizens in the United Provinces, yet it was a long time before their innocence could engage the English, the Swiss, and Germans, to abrogate the laws that had been enacted against them. The civil magistrates, in these countries, had still before their eyes the enormities committed by the ancient Anabaptists; and besides, they could not persuade themselves, that a set of men, who looked upon all oaths as *sinful*, and declared that magistracy and penal laws have no place in the kingdom of Christ, had the sentiments that are necessary to constitute a good citizen. Hence we find, even in this century, several examples of great severities employed against them, and some instances of even capital punishments. But now, that the demonstrations of their innocence are clear, they enjoy repose, not only in the United Provinces, but also in England, Germany,

Germany, and Prussia, where they procure, by their industry, an ample subsistence.

II. The wiser members of this community easily perceived, that their external tranquillity would not be permanent, unless their intestine discords were removed, and their ancient disputes terminated. They accordingly used their zealous endeavours to diffuse charity and concord throughout their sect; nor were their labours unsuccessful. In the year 1630, a considerable part of the Anabaptists of Flanders, Germany, and Friesland, concluded their debates in a conference held at Amsterdam, and entered into the bonds of fraternal communion, each notwithstanding reserving to themselves a liberty of retaining certain opinions. This association was renewed in the year 1649, by the Anabaptists of Flanders and Germany, between whom great divisions had reigned. All these formed a bond of union with those branches of the sect that were most distinguished by their moderation; and they corrected, in various respects, the rigorous laws of Menno and his successors.

III. Therefore, at this day, the whole community may be divided into two large sects, the one comprehending the more *Refined* Anabaptists; and the others called (in the Dutch language) the *Grosser* Anabaptists, who are of a milder complexion, and an easier and more moderate character. All the refined Anabaptists are the rigid followers of Simon Menno, and stedfastly maintain the sentiments of their chief, on the following points—the human nature of Christ—the obligation that binds us to wash the feet of strangers—the necessity of excommunicating and avoiding, as one would do the plague,

plague, not only avowed sinners, but also those who depart, even in some light instances, from the simplicity of their ancestors. And the contempt that is due to human learning. It is however to be observed, that, in our times, some of the congregations of this *refined* sect have been gradually departing from this austere system, and are proceeding towards the opinions and discipline of the more moderate Anabaptists.

IV. All these Anabaptists adopt a form of ecclesiastical government and discipline, that is administered by three distinct orders of persons. The first order is that of the *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, who always preside in the consistory, and are alone invested with the power of administering the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The second is that of *Teachers*, who are set apart for the purposes of public instruction, and the celebration of divine worship. The third comprehends the *Deacons*, who are chosen out of both sexes. These three orders compose the consistory or council by which the church is governed. All matters of importance are proposed, examined, and decided, in the meetings of the Brethren. The ministers are elected to their holy office by *their* suffrages, and are all, the *Deacons* excepted, installed by public prayers, attended with imposition of hands.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Socinians and Arians.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century the sect of the Socinians seemed to be well established. In Transylvania and Lucko they

they enjoyed the liberty of holding, without molestation, their religious assemblies, and professing publicly their theological opinions. The advantages that attended their situation in Poland, were still more considerable; for they had at Racow a public seminary of learning, which was furnished with professors eminently distinguished by their erudition and genius, together with a press for the publication of their writings; they had also a considerable number of congregations in that district, and were supported by several persons of the highest distinction. Elated with this prosperity, they began to form more extensive views, and aimed at enlarging the borders of their community. They sent emissaries with this view, about the commencement of this century, into Holland, England, Germany, and Prussia, who endeavoured to make profelytes to Socinianism in these countries, among men of learning and men in power. For it is remarkable, that the Socinians have always followed a quite different method from that which has been observed by other sects. It has been the general practice of innovators, to begin by gaining the multitude to their side; but the disciples of Socinus, who are perpetually exalting the dignity and authority of reason, have this peculiarity, that they are at little pains to make profelytes to their cause among those who are not distinguished by their rank or their abilities. It is only among the learned and the great that they seek for disciples and patrons.

II. The effect of the missions now mentioned, though they were conducted by persons eminent both on account of their rank and abilities, was nevertheless far from answering the expectations of the community. In most places their success

was inconsiderable; though in some, they were favourably received. They had no where more success than in the academy of Altorf, where their sentiments and their cause were promoted with dexterity by Ernest Sohner, the acute and learned professor of physic and natural philosophy. This subtle philosopher, who had joined the Socinians during his residence in Holland, instilled their principles into the minds of his scholars with much greater facility, by his having acquired the highest reputation both for learning and piety. But the death of this eminent man, in the year 1612, deprived the society of its chief ornament and support; nor could the remaining friends of Socinianism carry on their cause with such dexterity, as to escape the vigilant eye of the other professors. Their secret designs were accordingly brought to light, in the year 1616; and the contagion of Socinianism, which was gathering strength from day to day, was all of a sudden extinguished by the vigilant severity of the magistrates of Nuremberg. The foreign students, who had been infected with these doctrines, saved themselves by flight; while the natives accepted of the remedies that were presented to them, and returned quietly to their former theological system.

III. The establishment of the Socinians in Poland, though it seemed to rest upon solid foundations, was nevertheless of a short duration. Its chief supports were withdrawn in the year 1638, by a public decree of the diet. It happened in this year that some of the students of Racow vented, in a tumultuous manner, their religious resentment against a crucifix, at which they threw stones till they beat it down. This act of violence excited such indignation in the Roman-

Roman-catholics, that they vowed revenge, and fulfilled this vow in the severest manner; for it was through their importunate solicitations that the terrible law was enacted at Warsaw, that the academy of Racow should be demolished, its professors banished, the printing-house of the Socinians destroyed, and their churches shut. All this was executed without the smallest alleviation or the least delay, notwithstanding the efforts made by the powerful patrons of the Socinians. But a catastrophe, still more terrible, awaited them; and this persecution was the fore-runner of that dreadful revolution, which, about twenty years afterwards, brought on the entire ruin of this community in Poland. For by a public and solemn act of the diet held at Warsaw, in the year 1658, all the Socinians were banished for ever from the territory of that republic, and capital punishment was denounced against all those who should either profess their opinions or harbour their persons. The unhappy exiles were, at first, allowed the space of three years to settle their affairs, and to dispose of their possessions: but this term was afterwards abridged and reduced to two years. In the year 1661, the terrible edict was renewed; and all the Socinians that yet remained in Poland were driven out of that country, some with the loss of their goods, others with the loss of their lives, as neither sickness, nor any domestic consideration, could suspend the execution of that rigorous sentence.

IV. A part of these exiles, who sought for a refuge among their Brethren in Transylvania, sunk under the burthen of their calamities, and perished amidst the hardships to which they were exposed. A considerable number were dispersed

through the adjacent provinces of Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia; and their posterity still subsists in those countries. Several of the more eminent members of the sect, in consequence of the protection granted them by the duke of Brieg, resided for some time at Crossen in Silesia. Others went in search of a convenient settlement for themselves and their brethren, into Holland, England, Holstein, and Denmark. Of all the Socinian exiles, none discovered such zeal and industry for the establishment of the sect, as Stanislaus Lubieniecius, a Polish knight, distinguished by his learning, and singularly esteemed by persons of the highest rank, and even by several sovereign princes, on account of his eloquence, politeness, and prudence. This illustrious patron of Socinianism succeeded so far as to gain the favour of Frederic III. king of Denmark; Christian Albert, duke of Holstein; and Charles Lewis, elector Palatine; and thus had almost obtained a secure retreat and settlement for the Socinians, about the year 1662, at Altena, Fredericstadt, and Mannheim; but all his hopes were frustrated, by the opposition and remonstrances of the clergy established in these countries. Several other attempts were made, in different countries, in favour of Socinianism; but their success was still less considerable; nor could any of the European nations be persuaded to grant a public settlement to a sect, whose members denied the divinity of Christ.

V. The remains, therefore, of this unfortunate community are, at this day, dispersed through different countries, particularly in the kingdoms of England and Prussia, the electorate of Brandenburg, and the United Provinces, where they lie more or less concealed, and hold their religious

gious assemblies in a clandestine manner. They exercise their religion publicly in England, not in consequence of a legal toleration, but through the indulgent connivance of the civil magistrate. Amidst these perpetual changes and vicissitudes, it was not possible that the Socinians could maintain an uniform system of doctrine, or preserve unaltered the religious tenets handed down to them by their ancestors. On the contrary, their peculiar and distinctive opinions are variously explained both by the learned and illiterate members of their community, though they all agree in rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, and that also of the *divinity* and *satisfaction* of Jesus Christ.

VI. After the Socinians, as there is a great affinity between the two sects, it is proper to mention the Arians. Of those also who passed under the general denomination of *Anti-Trinitarians* and *Unitarians*, there are many that may be placed in the class of the Socinians or Arians. For the term *Unitarian* is very comprehensive, and is applicable to a great variety of persons, who, notwithstanding, agree in this common principle, that *there is no real distinction in the divine nature*. The denomination of Arian is given in general to all those who consider Jesus Christ as *inferior* and *subordinate* to the Father. But, as this subordination may be understood in a variety of ways, it is evident, that the term Arian, as it is used in modern language, is susceptible of different significations; and that, of consequence, the persons to whom it is applied cannot all be considered in the same light with the ancient Arians, nor supposed to agree perfectly with each other in their religious tenets.

A

SHORT VIEW or GENERAL SKETCH
OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

I. THE history of the Christian church, during the present age, instead of a few pages, would alone require a volume, such are the number and importance of the materials that it exhibits to an attentive inquirer. It is therefore to be hoped, that, in due time, some able writer will employ his labours on this interesting subject. At the same time, to render the present work as complete as possible, and to give a certain clue to direct those who teach or who study ecclesiastical history, through a multitude of facts that have not been gathered together and digested into a regular order, we shall draw here a general sketch, that will exhibit the principal outlines of the state of religion, since the commencement of the present century. That this sketch may not swell to too great a size, we shall omit the mention of the authors who have furnished materials for this period of church-history.

Those

Those that are acquainted with modern literature must know, that there are innumerable productions extant, from whence such a variety of lines and colours might be taken, as would render this rough and general draught a complete and finished piece.

II. The doctrines of Christianity have been propagated in Asia, Africa, and America, with equal zeal, both by the Protestant and Popish missionaries. But we cannot say the same thing of the true spirit of the Gospel, or of the religious discipline that it recommends to the observance of Christians; for it is an undeniable fact, that many of those whom the Romish missionaries have persuaded to renounce their false gods, are Christians only as far as an external profession and certain religious ceremonies go; and that, instead of departing from the superstitions of their ancestors, they observe them still, though under a different form. We have, indeed, pompous accounts of the mighty success with which the ministry of the Jesuits has been attended among the barbarous nations; and the French Jesuits in particular are said to have converted innumerable multitudes in the course of their missions. This perhaps cannot be denied, if we are to call those, converts to Christianity, who have received some superficial notions of the doctrines of the Gospel; for it is well known, that several congregations of *such* Christians have been formed by the Jesuits in the East-Indies, and more especially in the kingdoms of Carnate, Madura, and Marava, on the coast of Malabar, in the kingdom of Tonquin, the Chinese empire, and also in certain provinces of America. These conversions have, in outward appearance, been carried on with particular success,

cess, since Anthony Veri has had the direction of the foreign missions, and has taken such special care, that neither hands should be wanting for this spiritual harvest, nor any expences spared that might be necessary to the execution of such an important undertaking. But these pretended conversions, instead of effacing the infamy under which the Jesuits labour, in consequence of the iniquitous conduct of their missionaries in former ages, have only served to augment it, and to shew their practices in a still more odious point of light. For they are much more zealous in satisfying the demands of their avarice and ambition, than in promoting the cause of Christ, and they corrupt and modify, by a variety of inventions, the pure doctrine of the Gospel, in order to increase the number of their ambiguous converts.

III. A famous question arose in this century, which made a great noise in the Romish church, relating to the Jesuits in China, and their manner of promoting the cause of the Gospel, by permitting the new converts to observe the religious rites and customs of their ancestors. This question was decided to the disadvantage of the missionaries, in the year 1704, by Clement XI. who, by a solemn edict, forbade the Chinese Christians to practise the religious rites of their ancestors, and more especially those that are celebrated by the Chinese in honour of their deceased parents and of their great lawgiver Confucius. This severe edict was, nevertheless, considerably mitigated in the year 1715, in order to appease, no doubt, the resentment of the Jesuits, whom it exasperated in the highest degree. For the pontiff allowed the missionaries to make use of the word TIEN, to express the *divine nature*,

nature, with the addition of the word TCHU, to remove its ambiguity, and make it evident, that it was not the *heaven*, but the *Lord of heaven*, that the Christian doctors worshipped; he also permitted the observance of those rites and ceremonies that had so highly offended the adversaries of the Jesuits, on condition that they should be considered merely as marks of respect to their parents, and as tokens of civil homage to their lawgivers, without being viewed in a religious light. In consequence of this second papal edict, the Chinese converts to Christianity are allowed considerable liberties; among other things, they have in their houses *tablets*, on which the names of their ancestors, and particularly of Confucius, are written in golden letters; they are allowed to light candles before these tablets, to make offerings to them of rich perfumes, victuals, fruits, and other delicacies, nay, to prostrate the body before them until the head touches the ground. The same ceremony of prostration is performed by the Chinese Christians at the tombs of their ancestors.

The first of these papal edicts, which was designed to prevent the motley mixture of Chinese superstition with the religious institutions of Christianity, was brought to China, in the year 1705, by Cardinal Tournon, the pope's legate; and the second, which was of a more indulgent nature, was sent in the year 1721, with Mezzabarba, who went to China with the same character. Neither the emperor nor the Jesuits were satisfied with these edicts. Tournon, who executed the orders of his master with more zeal than prudence, was, by the express command of the emperor, thrown into prison, where he died in the year 1710. Mezzabarba, though more cautious, yet

yet returned home without having succeeded in his negotiation; nor could the emperor be engaged, by either arguments or entreaties, to make any alteration in the customs of his ancestors. At present, the state of Christianity in China being extremely precarious, this famous controversy is entirely suspended; and many reasons induce us to think, that both the pontiffs and the enemies of the Jesuits will unite in permitting the latter to depart from the papal edicts, and to follow their own methods of conversion. For they will esteem it lawful to submit to many inconveniences and abuses, rather than to risk the entire suppression of popery in China.

IV. The attempts made since the commencement of the present century, by the English and Dutch, and more especially by the former, to diffuse the light of Christianity through the benighted regions of Asia and America, have been carried on with more assiduity than in the preceding age. That the Lutherans have borne their part in this salutary work, appears from the Danish mission, planned with such piety in the year 1706, by Frederic IV. for the conversion of the Indians that inhabit the coast of Malabar, and attended with such remarkable success. This noble establishment, which surpasses all that have been yet erected for the propagation of the Gospel, not only subsists still in a flourishing state, but acquired daily new degrees of perfection under the auspicious patronage of that excellent monarch Christian VI. We will indeed grant, that the converts to Christianity made by the Danish missionaries, are less numerous than those which we find in the lists of the Popish legates; but it may be affirmed, at the same time, that they are much better Christians, and far excel
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the latter in the sincerity and zeal that accompany their profession. There is a great difference between Christians in reality, and Christians in appearance; and it is certain that the Popish missionaries are much more ready than the Protestant to admit into their communion proselytes, who have nothing of Christianity but the name.

We have but imperfect accounts of the labours of the Russian clergy, the greatest part of whom lie yet involved in gross ignorance. We learn, nevertheless, that some of their doctors have employed, with a certain degree of success, their zeal and industry in spreading the light of the Gospel in those provinces that lie in the neighbourhood of Siberia.

V. While the missionaries now mentioned exposed themselves to the greatest dangers and sufferings, in order to diffuse the light of truth in these darkened nations, there arose in Europe, a multitude of adversaries, who shut their eyes upon its excellence, and endeavoured to eclipse its immortal lustre. There is no country in Europe where infidelity has not exhaled its poison; and scarcely any denomination of Christians among whom we may not find several persons, who either aim at the total extinction of all religion, or at least endeavour to invalidate the Christian system. Some carry on these unhappy attempts in an open manner, others under the mask of a Christian profession; but no where have these enemies of pure religion, and consequently of mankind, appeared with more effrontery and insolence than under the free governments of Great Britain and the United Provinces. In England more especially, it is not uncommon to meet with books, in which not only the doctrines of the Gospel, but also
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the perfections of the Deity, and the solemn obligations of piety and virtue, are impudently called in question. Such impious productions have cast a deserved reproach on the names and memories of Toland, Collins, Tindal and Woolston; add to these, Morgan, Chubb, Mandeville, and others.

VI. The sect of *Atheists*, by which, in strictness of speech, those only are to be meant who deny the existence of an infinitely wise and powerful Being, is reduced to a very small number, and may be considered as almost extinct. Any that yet remain under the influence of this unaccountable delusion, adopt the system of Spinoza, and suppose the universe to be one vast substance, which excites, and produces a great variety of motions, all uncontrollably necessary, by a sort of *internal force*, which they carefully avoid defining.

The Deists, under which general denomination those are comprehended who deny the divine origin of the Gospel, and are enemies to all revealed religion, form a motley tribe, which, on account of their jarring opinions, may be divided into different classes. The least extravagant form of Deism, is that which aims at an association between Christianity and natural religion; and represents the Gospel as no more than a republication of the original law of nature and reason, that was more or less obliterated in the minds of men. This is the hypothesis of Tindal, Chubb, Mandeville, Morgan, and several others, if we are to give credit to their own declarations, which, indeed, ought not always to be done.

VII. The church of Rome has been governed, since the commencement of this century,

tury, by Clement XI. Innocent XIII. Benedict XIII. Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. who may be all considered as men of eminent wisdom, virtue, and learning, if we compare them with the pontiffs of the preceding ages. Clement XI. and Prosper Lambertini, who at present fills the papal chair under the title of Benedict XIV. stands much higher in the list of literary fame, than the other pontiffs now mentioned; and Benedict XIII. surpassed them all in piety, which in the whole of his conduct was extraordinary. It was he that conceived the design of reforming many disorders in the church, and of restraining the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy; and for this purpose held a council, in the palace of the Lateran, in the year 1725, whose acts and decrees have been made public. But the event did not answer his expectations; nor is there any probability, that Benedict XIV. who is attempting the execution of the same worthy purpose, will meet with better success.

We must not omit observing here, that the modern bishops of Rome make but an indifferent figure in Europe, and exhibit little more than an empty shadow of the authority of the ancient pontiffs. Their prerogatives are diminished, and their power is restrained within very narrow bounds. The sovereign princes of Europe, who embrace their communion, no longer tremble at the thunder of the Vatican, but treat their *anathemas* with contempt. They, indeed, load the *holy father* with pompous titles, and treat him with all the external marks of veneration; yet they have given a mortal blow to his authority, by the distinction they make between the court of Rome and the Roman pontiff.

tiff. For, under the cover of this distinction, they buffet him with one hand, and stroke him with the other; and, under the most respectful profession of attachment to his person, oppose the measures, and diminish from day to day, the authority of his court. A variety of transactions might be alledged in confirmation of this, and more especially the debates that have arisen in this century, between the court of Rome and those of France, Naples, Sardinia, and Portugal, in all which that court has been obliged to yield, and to discover its extreme insignificancy and weakness.

VIII. There have been no serious attempts made in later times to bring about a reconciliation between the Protestant and Romish churches; for, notwithstanding the projects formed by private persons with a view to this union, it is justly considered as an impracticable scheme. The difficulties that attend its execution were greatly augmented by the famous bull of Clement XI. entitled *Unigenitus*, which deprived the peace-makers of the principal expedient they employed for the accomplishment of this union, by putting it out of their power to soften the doctrines of popery, that appeared the most shocking to the friends of the Reformation. This expedient had been frequently practised in former times, in order to remove the disgust that the Protestants had conceived against the church of Rome; but the bull *Unigenitus* put an end to all these modifications, and in most of those points that had occasioned our separation from Rome, represented the doctrine of that church in the same shocking light in which they had been viewed by the first reformers. This shews, with the utmost evidence, that

that all the attempts the Romish doctors have made, from time to time, to give an air of plausibility to their tenets, were so many snares laid to draw the Protestants into their communion; that the specious conditions they proposed as the terms of reconciliation, were perfidious stratagems; and that, consequently, there is no sort of dependance to be made upon the promises and declarations of such a disingenuous set of men.

IX. The intestine discords, tumults, and divisions, that reigned in the Romish church, during the preceding century, were so far from being terminated in this, that new fuel was added to the flame, and the animosities of the contending parties grew more vehement from day to day. These divisions still subsist. The Jesuits are at variance with the Dominicans, and some other religious orders, though these quarrels make little noise, and are carried on with some regard to decency and prudence; the Dominicans are on bad terms with the Franciscans; the controversy concerning the nature, lawfulness, and expediency of the Chinese ceremonies still continues; and were we to mention all the debates that divide the Romish church, which boasts so much of its unity and infallibility, the enumeration would be endless. The controversy relating to Jansenism, which was one of the principal sources of that division which reigned within the papal jurisdiction, has been carried on with great spirit and animosity, both in France and the Netherlands. The Jansenists are inferior to their adversaries the Jesuits, in number, power, and influence; but they equal them in resolution, prudence, and learning, and surpass them in sanctity of manners and
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superstition, by which they excite the respect of the people. When their affairs take an unfavourable turn, and they are oppressed and persecuted by their victorious enemies, they find an asylum in the Netherlands. For great part of the Roman-catholics in Spanish Flanders, and all the members of that communion that live under the jurisdiction of the United Provinces, embrace the principles of Jansenius. Those that inhabit the United Provinces have almost renounced their allegiance to the pope, though they profess a warm attachment to the doctrine and communion of the church of Rome; nor are either the exhortations or threatenings of the *holy father* sufficient to banish the obliquity of these wayward children, or to reduce them to a state of obedience.

X. The cause of the Jansenists acquired a peculiar degree of credit, both in this and the preceding century, by a French translation of the New Testament, made by Paschasius Quenel, a priest of the oratory, and accompanied with practical annotations, adapted to excite lively impressions of religion. The Quintessence of Jansenism was blended, in an elegant and artful manner, with these Annotations, and was thus presented to the reader under the most pleasing aspect. The Jesuits were alarmed at the success of Quenel's book, and particularly at the change it had wrought in many, in favour of the theological doctrines of Jansenius; and to remove out of the way an instrument which proved so advantageous to their adversaries, they engaged that weak prince, Lewis XIV. to solicit the condemnation of this production at the court of Rome. Clement XI. granted the request of the French monarch, and in the year 1713, issued out

out the famous bull *Unigenitus*, in which Quenél's New Testament was condemned, and a *hundred and one propositions* contained in it, pronounced heretical. This bull gave a favourable turn to the affairs of the Jesuits; but it was highly detrimental to the interests of the Romish church, as many of the wiser members of that communion candidly acknowledge. For it not only confirmed the Protestants in their separation, by convincing them that the church of Rome was resolved to adhere obstinately to its ancient corruptions; but also offended many of the Roman-catholics, who had a particular attachment to the doctrines of Jansenius, and were only bent on the pursuit of truth and the advancement of piety. It must also be observed, that the controversy relating to Jansenism was much augmented, instead of being mitigated by this ill-judged edict.

XI. The dissensions and tumults excited in France by this edict were violent in the highest degree. A considerable number of bishops, and a large body composed of persons eminently distinguished by their piety and erudition, both among the clergy and laity, appealed from the bull to a general council. It was more particularly opposed by the Cardinal De Noailles, archbishop of Paris, who, equally unmoved by the authority of the pontiff and by the resentment of Lewis XIV. made a noble stand against the despotic proceedings of the court of Rome. These defenders of the ancient doctrine and liberties of the Gallican church were persecuted by the popes, the French monarch, and the Jesuits, from whom they received an uninterrupted series of injuries. Nay, their entire ruin was aimed at by these unrelenting adversaries,

and was accomplished in part, since some of them were obliged to fly to their brethren in Holland; others forced, by various acts of tyranny and violence, to receive the papal edict; while a considerable number, deprived of their places, and ruined in their fortunes, looked for subsistence at a greater distance from their native country. The issue of this famous contest was favourable to the *bull*, which was at length rendered valid by the authority of the parliament, and registered among the laws of the state. This contributed in some measure to restore the public tranquillity, but it was far from diminishing the number of those who complained of the despotism of the pontiff; and the kingdom of France is still full of *Appellants*. This was the name that was assumed by those who appealed from the bull and the court of Rome to a general council, who reject the authority of the *bull*, and only wait for a favourable opportunity of reviving the controversy.

XII. Amidst the calamities in which the Jansenists have been involved, they have only two methods left of maintaining their cause against their powerful adversaries, and these are their *writings* and their *miracles*. The writings in which they have attacked both the Pope and the Jesuits are innumerable; and many of them are composed with such eloquence, spirit, and solidity, that they have produced a remarkable effect. As to the miracles, let any man of sense only read over one book, wrote in French, by Monsieur Montgeran, "A Demonstration of the Miracles wrought at the tomb of Abbé Paris," and then doubt of them if he can. But very lately, the storm of just resentment that has arisen against the Jesuits, and has been attended with the

the extinction of their order in Portugal, France, and in all the Spanish dominions, has disarmed the most formidable adversaries of Jansenism, and must consequently be considered as an event highly favourable to the Jansenists.

XIII. We can say but little of the Greek and Eastern churches. The profound ignorance in which they live, and the despotic yoke under which they groan, prevent their forming any plans to extend their limits, or making any attempts to change their state. The Russians, as we had formerly occasion to observe, assumed, under the reign of Peter *the Great*, a less barbarous aspect than they had before that memorable period; and in this century have given some grounds to hope that they may one day be reckoned among the civilized nations. There are, nevertheless, immense multitudes of that rugged people, who are still attached to the brutish superstition of their ancestors; and there are several in whom the barbarous spirit of persecution still so far prevails, that, were it in their power, they would cut off the Protestants, and all other sects that differ from them, by fire and sword.

The Greek Christians are said to be treated at present by their haughty masters with more clemency than in former times. The Nestorians in Asia and Africa persevere in their refusal to enter into the communion of the Romish church, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties and alluring offers that have been made from time to time by the pope's legates. The Roman pontiffs have frequently attempted to renew, by another sacred expedition, their former connexions with the kingdom of Abyssinia; but they have not yet been able to find out a method of escaping
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the vigilance of that court, which still persists in its abhorrence of popery. Nor is it at all probable, that the embassy, which is now preparing at Rome for the Abyssinian emperor, will be attended with success.

XIV. The Lutheran church, which dates its foundation from the year 1517, and the Confession of Augsborg from the year 1530, celebrated in peace and prosperity the *secular* return of these memorable periods in the years 1717 and 1730. It received, some years ago, a considerable accession to the number of its members by the emigration of that multitude of Protestants which abandoned the territory of Saltzburg and the town of Berchtolsghaden, in order to breathe a free air, and to enjoy unmolested the exercise of their religion. One part of these emigrants settled in Prussia, another in Holland, and many of them transplanted themselves and their families to America and other distant regions. This circumstance contributed greatly to propagate the doctrine and extend the reputation of the Lutheran church, which thus not only obtained a footing in Asia and America, but also formed several congregations of note in these remote parts of the world. The state of Lutheranism at home has not been so prosperous, since in several parts of Germany, the Lutheran church has been injuriously oppressed, and unjustly deprived of several of its privileges, by the votaries of Rome.

XV. It has been scarcely possible to introduce any change into the system of doctrine and discipline that is received in that church, because the ancient confessions and rules that were drawn up to point out the tenets that were to be believed, and the rites and ceremonies that were

to be performed, still remain in their full authority, and are considered as the sacred guardians of the Lutheran faith and worship. The method however of illustrating and defending the doctrines of Christianity, has undergone several changes in the Lutheran church. Towards the commencement of this century, an artless simplicity was generally observed by the ministers of that communion, and all philosophical terms were laid aside, as more adapted to obscure than to illustrate the truths of the Gospel. But in process of time a very different way of thinking began to take place; and several learned men entertained a notion, that the doctrines of Christianity could not maintain their ground, if they were not supported by the aids of philosophy, and exhibited and proved in a geometrical order.

XVI. The liberty of thinking, speaking, and writing, concerning religious matters, which began to prevail in the last century, was, in this, still further augmented; and it extended so far as to encourage both infidels and fanatics to pour forth among the multitude, without restraint, all the effusions of their extravagance.

XVII. Many place in this class the Brethren of Herrenhut, who were first formed into a religious community, in the village so named, in Lusatia, by the famous Count Zinzendorff; and afterwards grew so numerous, that their emigrants were spread abroad in all the countries of Europe, reached even as far as the Indies, and formed settlements in the remotest quarters of the globe.

If we are to give credit to their own declarations, they agree with the Lutherans in their doctrine, and only differ from them in their ecclesiastical discipline, and in those religious institutions

stitutions and rules of life which form the resemblance between the Bohemian Brethren and the disciples of Zinzendorff. There are, indeed, many who doubt much of the truth of this declaration. And those who have examined this matter with the most attention represent this fraternity as composed of persons of different religions, as well as of various ranks and orders.*

XVIII. The church of England, which is now the chief and leading branch of that great community that goes under the denomination of the Reformed church, continues in the same state, and is governed by the same principles, that it assumed at the Revolution under the reign of King William III. The established form of church-government is *Episcopacy*, which is embraced by the sovereign, the nobility, and the greatest part of the people. The Presbyterians, and the numerous sects of different denominations that are comprehended under the general title of *Non-conformists*, enjoy the sweets of religious liberty, under the influence of a *legal* toleration. Those, indeed, who are best acquainted with the present state of the English nation, tell us, that the dissenting interest declines from day to day, and that the cause of *Non-conformity* owes this gradual decay, in a great measure, to the lenity and moderation that are practised by the rulers of the established church. The members of this church may be divided into two classes, according to their different ideas of the origin, extent, and dignity of episcopal jurisdiction. For some look upon the government of bishops to be founded on divine institution, and are immoderately zealous

* Whoever desires to see a fair and impartial account of these, may consult my second and third Journals.

lous in extending the power and prerogatives of the church; others, while they consider the episcopal form of government as superior to every other system of ecclesiastical polity, and warmly recommend all the precautions that are necessary to its preservation, yet do not refuse the name of a church to every religious community that is not governed by a bishop. The learned and pious Archbishop Wake, in a letter to Father Courrayer, dated from *Croydon-House*, July 9, 1724, expresseth himself thus: "I bless God that I was born and have been bred in an episcopal church; which I am convinced has been the government established in the Christian church from the very time of the Apostles. But I should be unwilling to affirm, that *where* the ministry is not episcopal, there is no *church*, nor *any* true administration of the sacraments. And very many there are among us, who are zealous for episcopacy, yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry."

XIX. It is scarcely possible for any historian, that has not resided for some time in England, and examined with attention, upon the spot, the laws, the privileges, the factions, and opinions, of that free and happy people, to give a just and accurate account of these religious sects, and controversies. Even the names of the greatest part of these sects have not as yet reached us, and many of those that are come to our knowledge, we know but imperfectly. We are greatly in the dark with respect to the grounds and principles of these controversies, because we are destitute of the sources from whence proper information must be drawn. At present the ministerial labours of *George Whitefield*, make a considerable

considerable noise in England, and are not destitute of success. If there is any consistency in this man's theological system, his doctrine seems to amount to these two propositions—“that true religion consists in a certain inward *feeling*, which it is impossible to explain—and that Christians ought not to seek truth by the dictates of reason, or by the aids of learning, but by laying their minds open to the direction and influence of Divine Illumination.”

A SHORT
HISTORY
OF THE
PEOPLE called METHODISTS.

I. **A**S no other person can be so well acquainted with *Methodism*, so called, as I am, I judge it my duty to leave behind me, for the information of all candid men, as clear an account of it as I can. This will contain the chief circumstances that occurred, for upwards of fifty years, related in the most plain and artless manner, before Him whose I am, and whom I serve.

I do this the rather, because under the article of Heretics, Dr. M^r. Lane in his Chronological tables, is pleased to place Mr. Whitefield and me. Mr. Whitefield has given a large account of himself. And so indeed have I. But as that account is too large to be soon read over, it may be a satisfaction to many serious persons, to see it contracted into a narrower compass. Those who desire to have a fuller account of these things may at their leisure read all my Journals.

It will easily be observed, that I nearly confine myself to the things of which I was an eye or

ear-witness. If any wish to be more largely informed of other things, they may consult the *Arminian Magazine*.

II. *In November 1729, at which time I came to reside at Oxford, my Brother and I, and two young gentlemen more, agreed to spend three or four evenings in a week together. On Sunday evening we read something in Divinity; on other nights, the Greek or Latin Classics. In the following summer, we were desired to visit the prisoners in the Castle. And we were so well satisfied with our conversation there, that we agreed to visit them once or twice a week. Soon after, we were desired to call upon a poor woman in the town that was sick. And in this employment too, we believed it would be worth while to spend an hour or two in every week. Being now joined by a young gentleman of Merton College, who willingly took part in the same exercises, we all agreed to communicate as often as we could, (which was then once a week at Christ-Church) and to do what service we could to our acquaintance, the prisoners, and two or three poor families in the town.

III. In April 1732, Mr. Clayton, of Brazen-nose College, began to meet with us. It was by his advice that we began to observe the Fast of the ancient Church, every Wednesday and Friday. Two or three of his pupils, one of my Brother's, two or three of mine, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter College, desired likewise to spend six evenings in a week with us, from six to nine o'clock: partly, in reading and considering a chapter of the *Greek Testament*, and partly in close conversation. To these were added the

* Works, vol. xxvi. p. 88. and sequel.

next year, Mr. Ingham, with two or three other gentlemen of Queen's College: then Mr. Hervey, and in the year 1735, Mr. George Whitefield. I think, at this time we were fourteen or fifteen in number, all of one heart and of one mind.

IV. Having now obtained what I had long desired, a company of friends that were as my own soul, I set up my rest, being fully determined to live and die in this sweet retirement. But in spring 1735, I was suddenly called to attend my dying Father, who a little before his death, desired me to present a book he had just finished, to Queen Caroline. Almost as soon as I returned to Oxford, I was obliged on this account to go to London, where I was strongly solicited, to go over to Georgia, in order to preach to the Indians. This, at first, I peremptorily refused; but many providential incidents followed, which at length constrained me to alter my resolution: so that on ^bOctober 14, 1735, Mr. Ingham, Mr. Delamotte, my Brother and I embarked for America. We were above three months on board, during which time our common way of living was this. From four in the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five to seven, we read the Bible together. At seven we breakfasted. At eight, was the public service. From nine to twelve, I learnt German; Mr. Delamotte, Greek: my Brother wrote Sermons, and Mr. Ingham instructed the children. At twelve, we met together. About one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally, as need required. At four were the

^b Page 106, and sequel.

evening-prayers, when either the second lesson was explained, (as it always was in the morning) or the children were catechised, and instructed before the congregation. From five to six, we again used private prayer. From six to seven, I read in our cabin, to two or three of the passengers, (we had eighty English on board) and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the Germans (of whom we had twenty-six on board) in their public service, while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again, to instruct and exhort each other, and between nine and ten went to bed.

V. Sunday, March 7, 1736, finding there was not yet any opportunity of going to the Indians, I entered upon my ministry at Savannah,^c officiating at nine, at twelve, and in the afternoon. On the week-days I read prayers, and expounded the second lesson, beginning at five in the morning and seven in the evening. Every Sunday and Holiday, I administered the Lord's supper. My Brother followed the same rule, whether he was at Frederica or Savannah. Sunday, April 4, I embarked for Frederica, hearing my Brother was ill, and brought him with me to Savannah, on Tuesday the 20th.

I now advised the serious part of the congregation to form themselves into a sort of little society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to instruct, exhort, and reprove one another. And out of these I selected a smaller number, for a more intimate union with each other: in order to which I met them together at my house every Sunday in the afternoon.

^c Page 125, and sequel.

VI. Monday,

VI. Monday, May 10, I began visiting my parishioners in order from house to house, for which I set apart the time when they could not work, because of the heat, namely from twelve to three in the afternoon.

^d Monday, July 26. My Brother not having his health, left Savannah, in order to embark for England. ^e Saturday, January 26, 1737. Mr. Ingham set out for England. By him I wrote to Dr. Bray's Associates, who had sent a parochial Library to Savannah. It is expected of the Ministers who receive these, to send an account to their benefactors of the method they use in catechising the children, and instructing the youth of their respective parishes. Part of my letter was,

" Our general method is this. A young Gentleman who came with me, teaches between thirty and forty children to read, write, and cast accounts. Twice a day he catechises the lowest class. In the evening he instructs the larger children. On Saturday I catechise them all; as also on Sunday before the evening service. And in the church, immediately after the second lesson, a select number of them having repeated the Catechism, and been examined in some part of it, I endeavour to explain at large, and to enforce that part both on them and the congregation.

" After the evening service, as many of my parishioners as desire it, meet at my house, (as they do also on Wednesday evening) and spend about an hour in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortation. A small number (mostly those who design to communicate the next day) meet here

on Saturday evening. And a few of these come to me on the other evenings, and pass half an hour in the same employment."

I cannot but observe, that these were the first rudiments of the Methodist Societies. But who could then have even formed a conjecture whereto they would grow?

VII. But my work at Savannah increased more and more, particularly *on the Lord's-Day*. The English service lasted from five to half hour past six. The Italian (with a few Vaudois) began at nine. The second service for the English (including the Sermon and the Holy Communion) continued from half an hour past ten, till about half an hour past twelve. The French service began at one. At two I catechised the children. About three began the English service. After this was ended, I joined with as many as my largest room would hold, in reading, prayer, and singing praise. And about six the service of the Germans began: at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but as a learner.

VIII. On Friday, December 2, finding there was no possibility of preaching to the Indians, I left Savannah, and going through Carolina, on Saturday 24th, sailed over Charlestown-bar. After a pleasant voyage, on February 1, 1738, early in the morning landed at Deal. And on Friday 3d, I came once more to London, after an absence of two years and near four months.

§ Within three weeks following, (while I remained in town at the request of the Trustees for the Colony of Georgia,) I preached in many churches, though I did not yet see the nature of

saving faith. But as soon as I saw this clearly, namely on Monday, March 6, I declared it without delay. And God then began to work by my ministry, as he never had done before.

IX. On Monday, May 1, our little society began in London. But it may be observed, the first rise of *Methodism* (so called) was in November 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford: the second was at Savannah, in April 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at my house: the last, was at London, on this day, when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together every Wednesday evening, in order to a free conversation, begun and ended with singing and prayer. In all our steps we were greatly assisted by the advice and exhortations of Peter Boehler, an excellent young man, belonging to the society commonly called *Moravians*.

X. In summer I took a journey into Germany, and spent some time at Hernuth, a little town, where several Moravian families were settled. I doubt, such another town is not to be found upon the earth. I believe there was no one therein, young or old, who did not fear God and work righteousness. I was exceedingly comforted and strengthened by the conversation of this lovely people, and returned to England more fully determined to spend my life, in testifying the Gospel of the grace of God.

XI. It was still my desire to preach in a church, rather than in any other place. But many obstructions were now laid in the way. Some clergymen objected to this *new doctrine*, "Salvation by faith;" but the far more common (and indeed more plausible) objection was, "The people crowd so, that they block up the church, and leave no room for the best of the parish."

Being

Being thus excluded from the churches, and not daring to be silent, it remained only, to preach in the open air: which I did at first, not out of choice, but necessity. But I have since seen abundant reason to adore the wise providence of God herein, making a way for myriads of people, who never troubled any church, nor were likely so to do, to hear that word which they soon found to be the power of God unto salvation.

XII. In January 1739, our society consisted of about sixty persons. It continued gradually increasing all the year. ^aIn April I went down to Bristol. And soon after, a few persons agreed to meet weekly, with the same intention as those in London. These were swiftly increased, by the occasion of several little societies, which were till then accustomed to meet in divers parts of the city, but now agreed to unite together in one. And about the same time, several of the colliers of Kingswood, beginning to awake out of sleep, joined together, and resolved to walk by the same rule. And these likewise swiftly increased. A few also at Bath began to help each other, in running the race set before them.

XIII. In the remaining part of the summer, my Brother and I, and two young men who were willing to spend and be spent for God, continued to call sinners to repentance, in London, Bristol, Bath, and a few other places. But it was not without violent opposition, both from high and low, learned and unlearned. Not only all manner of evil was spoke of us, both in private and public, but the beasts of the people were stirred up almost in all places, "to knock

^a Vol. xxvii. p. 65, &c.

these mad dogs on the head at once." And when complaint was made of their savage, brutal violence, no magistrate would do us justice. Yet by the grace of God we went on, determined to testify as long as we could, the Gospel of God our Saviour, and not counting our lives dear unto ourselves, so we might finish our course with joy.

XIV. ⁱIn October, upon a pressing invitation, I set out for Wales, and preached in several parts of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire, chiefly in the open air: as I was not permitted to preach in the churches, and no private house would contain the congregations. And the word of God did not fall to the ground. Many *repented and believed the Gospel*. And some joined together, to strengthen each others hands in God, and to provoke one another to love and to good works.

XV. In November I ^kwrote to a friend a short account of what had been done in Kingswood. It was as follows:

"Few persons have lived long in the West of England, who have not heard of the colliers of Kingswood, a people famous for neither fearing God, nor regarding man; so ignorant of the things of God, that they seemed but one remove from the beasts that perish; and therefore utterly without desire of instruction, as well as without the means of it.

"Many last winter used to say of Mr. Whitefield, 'If he will convert heathens, why does he not go to the colliers of Kingswood?' In spring he did so. And as there were thousands who resorted to no place of worship, he went after them into their own wilderness, *to seek and*

ⁱ Page 146, &c. ^k p. 175.

save that which was lost. When he was called away, others went *into the highways and hedges to compel them to come in.* And by the grace of God, their labour was not in vain. The scene is already changed. Kingswood does not now, as a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naturally lead thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamour and bitterness, of wrath and envyings. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of the people are mild, gentle, and easy to be intreated. They do not cry, neither strive, and hardly *is their voice heard in the streets*; or indeed in their own wood; unless when they are at their usual diversion, singing praise unto God their Saviour."

XVI. ¹April 1, 1740, the rioters in Bristol, who had long disturbed us, being emboldened by impunity, were so increased, as to fill, not only the court, but a considerable part of the street. The Mayor sent them an order to disperse. But they set him at defiance. At length he sent several of his Officers, who took the ringleaders into custody. The next day they were brought into court, it being the time of the quarter-sessions. There they received a severe reprimand; and we were molested no more.

XVII. ^mSunday, Sept. 13, 1741, Mr. Deleznott, a French Clergyman in London, desiring me to officiate at his chapel, in Hermitage-street, Wapping, I administered the Lord's supper there to about two hundred persons of our society (as many as the place would well contain) which then consisted of about a thousand

¹ Page 201, &c.

^m Vol. xxix, p. 4.

members.

members. The same number attended the next Lord's-day, and so every Sunday following. By this means all the society attended in five weeks. Only those who had the sacrament at their parish churches, I advised to attend there.

XVIII. "It was on the last day of this year, that Sir *John Ganson* called upon me, and informed me, "Sir, you have no need to suffer these riotous mobs to molest you, as they have done long. I and all the other Middlesex magistrates have orders from above, to do you justice, whenever you apply to us." Two or three weeks after, we did apply. Justice was done, though not with rigour. And from that time we had peace in London.

XIX. Feb. 15, 1742,^o many met together at Bristol, to consult concerning a proper method of paying the public debt, contracted by building. And it was agreed, 1. That every member of the society that was able should contribute a penny a week: 2. That the whole society should be divided into little companies or classes, about twelve in each class: and 3. That one person in each should receive that contribution of the rest, and bring it in to the stewards weekly. Thus began that excellent institution, merely upon a temporal account: from which we reaped so many spiritual blessings, that we soon fixt the same rule in all our societies.

XX. In May,^p on the repeated invitation of John Nelson, who had been for some time calling sinners to repentance at Birstal, and the adjoining towns, in the West-riding of Yorkshire, I went to Birstal, and found his labour had not been in vain. Many of the greatest profligates in all the country were now changed. Their

^o Page 26. ^o p. 62, and sequel. ^p Vol. xxviii. p. 38.

blasphemies

blasphemies were turned to praise. Many of the most abandoned drunkards were now sober: many sabbath-breakers remembered the sabbath to keep it holy. The whole town wore a new face: such a change did God work by the artless testimony of one plain man: and from thence his word sounded forth to Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax, and all the West-riding of Yorkshire.

XXI. I had long had a desire to visit the poor colliers near Newcastle upon Tyne. And being now so far in my way, I went forward, and on Friday 28, came to Newcastle. On Sunday morning I preached at the end of Sandgate, the poorest and most contemptible part of the town. In the evening I preached on the side of the adjoining hill, to thousands upon thousands. I could only just make a beginning now. But on November 13, I came again, and preached morning and evening, till the end of December. And it pleased God so to bless his word, that above eight hundred persons were now joined together in his name: besides many, both in the towns, villages, and lone houses, within ten or twelve miles of the town. I never saw a work of God in any other place, so evenly and gradually carried on. It continually rose step by step. Not so much seemed to be done at any one time, as had frequently been at Bristol or London; but something at every time. It was the same with particular souls. I saw few in that extatic joy which had been common at other places. But many went on calm and steady, increasing more and more in the knowledge of God.

XXII. In this year many societies were formed in Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, and Nottinghamshire,

hamshire, as well as the southern parts of Yorkshire. And those in London, Bristol, and Kingswood, were much increased.

XXIII. In the beginning^a of January, 1743, after my Brother had spent a few days among them, I went to the poor colliers, in and about Wednesbury, in Staffordshire, and preached both in the Town-hall morning and evening, and in the open air. Many appeared to be exceeding deeply affected, and about a hundred desired to join together. In two or three months these were increased to between three and four hundred. But in the summer following there was an entire change. The minister of Wednesbury, Mr. Eggington, with several neighbouring justices, Mr. Lane of Bentley-hall, and Mr. Persehouse of Walsal in particular, stirring up the basest of the people, such outrages followed, as were a scandal to the Christian name. Riotous mobs were summoned together by sound of horn; men, women, and children abused in the most shocking manner; being beaten, stoned, covered with mud; some, even pregnant women, treated in a manner that cannot be mentioned. Mean time their houses were broke open, by any that pleased, and their goods spoiled or carried away, at Wednesbury, Darlaston, West-Bromwich, &c. some of the owners standing by, but not daring to gainsay, as it would have been at the peril of their lives.

XXIV. Nevertheless, I believed it my duty to call once more on this poor, harast, persecuted people. So on October, 20,^r I rode over from Birmingham to Wednesbury, and preached at noon in a ground near the middle of the town, to a far larger congregation than was expected.

^a Vol. xxviii. p. 145, &c. p. 175, &c.

on *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.* And no creature offered to molest us, either going or coming. But in the afternoon the mob beset the house. The cry of all was, "Bring out the Minister." I desired one to bring their captain into the house: after a few words the lion became a lamb. I then went out among the people, and asked, "What do you want with me?" They said, "We want you to go with us to the Justice." I said, "Shall we go to-night or in the morning?" Most of them cried, "To-night, to-night:" so I went before, and two or three hundred followed.

When we came to Bentley-hall, two miles from Wednesbury, a servant came out and said, "Mr. Lane is in bed." One then advised, "To go to Justice Persehouse at Walsal." All agreed, and about seven we came to his house. But Mr. Persehouse likewise sent word, that he was in bed. They then thought it would be best to go home. But we had not gone a hundred yards, when the mob of Walsal came, pouring in like a flood. In a short time, many of the Darlaston mob being knocked down, the rest ran away, and left me in their hands. They dragged me along through the main street, from one end of the town to the other. At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I would have gone in. But a gentleman in the shop would not suffer me. However I stood at the door, and after speaking a few words, broke out into prayer. Presently the man who had headed the mob turned and said, "Sir, I will spend my life for you. Follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head." Two or three of his fellows confirmed his words, and got close to me immediately. The people then fell back to the

the right and left, while those three or four men carried me through them all: and a little before ten, God brought me safe to Francis Ward's at Wednesbury: having lost only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.

XXV. There was now no more place for any Methodist Preacher in these parts. The mob were lords paramount. And they soon began to know their own strength, and to turn upon their employers. They required money of the gentlemen, or threatened to serve them as they had done the Methodists. This opened their eyes. And not long after, a grave man riding through Wednesbury, the mob swore he was a Preacher, pulled him off his horse, dragged him to a coal-pit, and were hardly restrained from throwing him in. But the Quaker, (such he was) not being so tame as a Methodist, indicted the chief of them at the assizes. The cause was tried at Stafford and given against them. And from that time the tumults ceased.

XXVI. On May 29, 1743, being Trinity Sunday, I began officiating at the chapel in West-street near the Seven Dials, London, (built about sixty years ago by the French Protestants) which by a strange chain of providences, fell into my hands. After reading prayers and preaching, I administered the Lord's supper to some hundreds of communicants. I was a little afraid at first that my strength would not suffice for the business of the day, when a service of five hours, (for it lasted from ten to three) was added to my usual employment. But God looked to that. So I must think, and they that will call it enthusiasm, may. I preached at the Great Gar-

dens in White-chapel, to an immense congregation. Then the leaders met, and after them the bands. At ten at night I was less weary than at six in the morning. The next Sunday the service at the chapel lasted till near four in the afternoon. So that I found it needful for the time to come, to divide the communicants into three parts, that I might not have above six hundred at once.

XXVII. On August 26, 1743, (my Brother and one or two of our Preachers having been there before,) I set out for Cornwall; but made no considerable stop, till I came to St. Ives, on Tuesday 30th. Some time since, Captain Turner of Bristol put in here, and was agreeably surprised to find a little society formed upon Dr. Woodward's plan, who constantly met together. They were much refreshed and strengthened by him, as he was by them. This was the occasion of our first intercourse with them. I now spoke severally with those of the society, who were about a hundred and twenty, near a hundred of whom had found peace with God. But they were very roughly handled both by the Rector, the Curate, and the Gentry, who set the mob upon them on all occasions.* I spent three weeks in preaching here, and in Zennor, Morva, St. Just, Sennan, St. Mary's, (one of the Isles of Scilly) Gwenap, and on several of the Downs, throughout the West of Cornwall. And it pleased God, the seed which was then sown, has since produced an abundant harvest. Indeed I hardly know any part of the three kingdoms, where there has been a more general change. *Hurling*, their favourite diversion, at

which limbs were usually broke, and very frequently lives lost, is now hardly heard of: it seems in a few years it will be utterly forgotten. And that scandal of humanity, so constantly practised on all the coasts of Cornwall, the plundering vessels that struck upon the rocks; and often murdering those that escaped out of the wreck, is now well nigh at an end; and if it is not quite, the gentlemen, not the poor tinnerns are to be blamed. But it is not harmlessness, or outward decency alone, which has within few years so increased, but the religion of the heart, faith working by love, producing all inward as well as outward holiness.

XXVIII. In April 1744, I took a second journey into Cornwall, and went thro' many towns I had not seen before. Since my former visit, there had been hot persecution; both of the preachers and the people. The preaching-house at St. Ives was pulled down to the ground; one of the preachers pressed and sent for a soldier, as were several of the people: over and above the being stoned, covered with dirt, and the like, which was the treatment many of them met with from day to day. But notwithstanding this, they who had been eminent for hurling, fighting, drinking, and all manner of wickedness, continued eminent for sobriety, piety, and all manner of goodness. In all parts more and more of the lions became lambs, continually praising God, and calling their old companions in sin, to come and magnify the Lord together. About the same time John Nelson and Thomas Beard were pressed and sent for soldiers, for no other crime, either committed or

pretended, than that of calling sinners to repentance. The case of John Nelson is well known. Thomas Beard also was nothing terrified by his adversaries. Yet the body after awhile sunk under its burden. He was then lodged in the hospital at Newcastle, where he still praised God continually. His fever increasing, he was let blood. His arm festered, mortified, and was cut off: two or three days after which, God signed his discharge, and called him up to his eternal home.

XXIX. All this year the alarms were uninterrupted, from the French on the one hand, and the Rebels on the other: and a general panic ran through the nation, from the East to the West, from the North to the South. I judged it the more needful to visit as many places as possible, and avail myself of the precious opportunity. My Brother and our other Preachers were of the same mind: they spoke and spared not. They rushed through every open door,

And cried, Sinners, behold the Lamb!

And their word did not fall to the ground: they saw abundant fruit of their labour. I went through many parts of Wales: through most of the midland counties; and then through Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, to Newcastle upon Tyne. In every place the generality of the people seemed to have ears to hear. And multitudes who were utterly careless before, did now *prepare to meet their God.*

XXX. ^w Monday, June 25, and the five following days, we spent in Conference with our

Preachers, seriously considering, by what means we might the most effectually save our own souls and them that heard us. And the result of our consultations we set down, to be the rule of our future practice.

* Friday, August 24, St. Bartholomew's-day, I preached for the last time before the University of Oxford. I am now clear of the blood of these men. I have fully delivered my own soul. And I am well pleased that it should be the very day, on which, in the last century, near two thousand burning and shining lights, were put out at one stroke. Yet what a wide difference is there between their case and mine! They were turned out of house and home, and all that they had : whereas I am only hindered from preaching, without any other loss ; and that in a kind of honourable manner : it being determined, That when my next turn to preach came, they would pay another person to preach for me. And so they did twice or thrice ; even to the time that I resigned my Fellowship.

XXXI. All this summer our brethren in Cornwall had hard service, the war against the Methodists being carried on more vigorously than that against the Spaniards. I had accounts of this from all parts ; one of which was as follows :

Rev. Sir,

Sept. 16, 1744.

"The word of God has free course here : it runs and is glorified. But the devil rages horribly. Even at St. Ives we cannot shut the door of John Nance's house to meet the society, but the mob immediately threatens to break it open.

And in other places it is worse. I was going to Crowan on Tuesday, and within a quarter of a mile of the place where I was to preach, some met me, and begged me not to go up: saying, 'If you do, there will surely be murder; if there is not already: for many were knocked down, before we came away.' By their advice I turned back to the house where I had left my horse. We had been there but a short time, when many of the people came in very bloody. But the main cry of the mob was, 'Where is the Preacher?' whom they sought for in every corner of the house; swearing bitterly, 'If we can but knock him on the head, we shall be satisfied.'

"Not finding me, they said, 'However we shall catch him on Sunday at Cambourn.' But it was Mr. Westall's turn to be there. While he was preaching at Mr. Harris', a tall man came in, and pulled him down. Mr. Harris demanded his warrant; but he swore, 'Warrant or no warrant, he shall go with me.' So he carried him out to the mob, who took him away to the Church-town. They kept him there till Tuesday morning, and then carried him to Penzance, when Dr. Borlase wrote his mittimas, by virtue of which he was to be committed to the house of correction at Bodmin as a vagrant. So they took him as far as Cambourn that night, and the next day to Bodmin.

"I desire your continual prayer for me, your weak servant in Christ,

HENRY MILLARD."

Henry Millard did not long continue in these troubles. A short time after this, he took the small-pox, and in a few days joyfully resigned his spirit up to God.

The

The justices who met at the next quarter-sessions in Bodmin, knowing a little more than Dr. Borlase, declared Mr. Westall's commitment to be contrary to all law, and immediately set him at liberty.

XXXII. All this year God was carrying on the same work in the English army abroad : some account of which is given by one of their Preachers, in the following letter :

Rev. Sir, Ghent, Nov. 12, 1744.

" We make bold to trouble you with this, to acquaint you with some of the Lord's dealings with us here. We have hired two rooms ; one small, wherein a few of us meet every day : and another large one, wherein we meet for public service twice a day, at nine and at four. And the hand of the omnipotent God is with us, to the pulling down of the strong-holds of Satan.

" The 7th instant, when we were met together in the evening, as I was in prayer, one that was kneeling by me, cried out, like a woman in travail, ' My Redeemer ! my Redeemer ! ' Which continued about ten minutes. When he was asked, What was the matter ? He said, He had found that which he had often heard of, an heaven upon earth. And several others had much ado to forbear crying out in the same manner.

" Dear Sir, I am a stranger to you in the flesh. I know not, if I have seen you above once, when I saw you preaching on Kennington common. And I then hated you as much as, by the grace of God, I love you now. The Lord pursued me with convictions from my infancy ; and

I made many good resolutions. But finding I could not keep them, I at length gave myself over to all manner of profaneness. So I continued till the battle of Dettingen. The balls then came very thick about me, and my comrades fell on every side. Yet I was preserved unhurt. A few days after, the Lord was pleased to visit me. The pains of hell gat hold upon me; the snares of death encompassed me. I durst no longer commit any outward sin, and I prayed God to be merciful to my soul. Now I was at a loss for books: but God took care for this also. One day I found an old Bible in one of the train waggons. This was now my only companion, and I believed myself a very good Christian, till we came to winter-quarters, where I met with John Haime. But I was soon sick of his company, for he robbed me of my treasure, telling me, I and my works were going to hell together. This was strange doctrine to me, and as I was of a stubborn temper, he sometimes resolved to forbid my coming to him any more.

“When the Lord had at length opened my eyes, and shewn me, that *by grace we are saved, through faith*, I began immediately to declare it to others, though I had not yet experienced it myself. But October 23, as William Clements was at prayer, I felt on a sudden a great alteration in my soul. My eyes overflowed with tears of love. I knew I was through Christ reconciled to God, which inflamed my soul with love to him, whom I now saw to be my compleat Redeemer.

“O the tender care of Almighty God, in bringing up his children! Dear Sir, I beg you will

will pray for him, who is not worthy to be a door-keeper to the least of my Master's servants.

JOHN EVANS."

He continued both to preach and to live the gospel, till the battle of Fontenoy. One of his companions saw him there laid across a cannon, both his legs having been taken off by a chain-shot, praising God, and exhorting all that were round about him; which he did, till his spirit returned to God.

XXXIII. * Many persons still representing the Methodists as enemies to the Clergy, I wrote to a friend the real state of the case, in as plain a manner as I could.

March 11, 1745.

1. ABOUT seven years since, we began preaching *inward, present* salvation, as attainable by *faith alone*.

2. For preaching *this doctrine*, we were forbidden to preach in most churches.

3. We then preached in *private houses*, and when the houses could not contain the people, in the *open air*.

4. For *this* many of the clergy *preached* or *printed* against us, as both heretics and schismatics.

5. Persons who were convinced of sin, begged us to advise them more particularly, how to flee from the wrath to come? We desired them, (being many) to come at one time, and we would endeavour it.

6. For *this* we were represented, both from the pulpit and the press, as introducing *Popery* and raising sedition. Yea, all manner of evil was said both of us, and of those that used to assemble with us.

7. Finding that some of these *did* walk disorderly, we desired them not to come to us any more.

8. And some of the others were desired to overlook the rest, that we might know whether they walked worthy of the Gospel.

9. Several of the clergy now stirred up the people, to treat us as outlaws or mad dogs.

10. The people did so, both in Staffordshire, Cornwall, and many other places.

11. And they do so still, wherever they are not restrained by fear of the magistrates.

Now what can *we* do, or what can *you* our brethren do, towards healing this breach?

Desire of *us* any thing which we can do with a safe conscience, and we will do it immediately. Will *you* meet us here? Will you do what we desire of you, so far as you can with a safe conscience?

Do you desire us, 1. To preach another, or to desist from preaching this doctrine?

We cannot do this with a safe conscience.

Do you desire us, 2. To desist from preaching in *private houses*, or in the open air?

As things are now circumstanced, this would be the same as desiring us not to preach at all.

Do you desire us, 3. Not to advise those who meet together for that purpose? To dissolve our societies?

We cannot do this with a safe conscience; for we apprehend many souls would be lost thereby.

Do you desire us, 4. To advise them one by one?

This is impossible, because of their number.

Do

Do you desire us, 5. To suffer those that walk disorderly, still to mix with the rest?

Neither can we do this with a safe conscience: for evil communications corrupt good manners.

Do you desire us, 6. To discharge those Leaders (as we term them) who overlook the rest?

This is, in effect, to suffer the disorderly walkers still to remain with the rest?

Do you desire us, lastly, to behave with tenderness both to the characters and persons of our brethren, the clergy?

By the grace of God, we can and will do this: as indeed we have done to this day.

If you ask, what we desire of *you* to do? We answer, 1. We do not desire any of you, to let us preach in your church, either if you believe us to preach false doctrine, or if you have the least scruple. But we desire any who believes us to preach true doctrine, and has no scruple in the matter, not to be either publicly or privately discouraged from inviting us to preach in his church.

2. We do not desire, that any who thinks it his duty to preach or print against us, should refrain therefrom. But we desire, that none will do this, till he has calmly considered both sides of the question; and that he would not condemn us unheard, but first read what we say in our own defence.

3. We do not desire any favour, if either Popery, Sedition, or Immorality be proved against us.

But we desire you would not credit without proof, any of those senseless tales that pass current with the vulgar: that if you do not credit them yourselves, you will not relate them to others: yea, that you will discountenance those

who still retail them abroad. Now these things you certainly can do, and that with a safe conscience. Therefore till these things be done, if there be any breach, it is chargeable on you only.

XXXIV. In June I paid another visit to Cornwall, where our Preachers were in danger of being discouraged, being continually persecuted, only not unto death, both by the great vulgar and the small. They shewed a little more courtesy to me, till Thursday, July 4, when I went to see a gentlewoman in Falmouth who had been long indisposed. I had scarce sat down, when the house was beset with an innumerable multitude of people. A louder or more confused noise, could hardly be at the taking of a city by storm. The rabble roared, "Bring out the Canorum! Where is the Canorum?" (A Cornish nickname for a Methodist.) They quickly forced open the outer door and filled the passage, there being now only a wainscot-partition between us. Among them were the crews of some privateers, who being angry at the slowness of the rest, thrust them away, and setting their shoulders to the inner door, cried out, "Avast, lads, avast!" Away went all the hinges at once, and the door fell back into the room. I stepped forward into the midst of them and said, "Here I am. Which of you has any thing to say to me?" I continued speaking till I came into the middle of the street, though I could be heard by few only. But all that could hear were still, till one or two of their captains turned and swore, "Not a man shall touch him:" a clergyman then came up, and asked, "Are you not ashamed to use a

stranger thus?" He was seconded by some gentlemen of the town, who walked with me to Mrs. Maddern's. They then sent my horse before me to Penryn, and sent me thither by water: the sea running close by the back-door of the house in which we were.

I never saw before, no not even at Walsal, the hand of God so clearly shewn as here. There I received blows, was covered with dirt, and lost part of my clothes. Here, although the hands of hundreds of people were lifted up to strike or throw, yet they were one and all stopped in the midway; so that not a man touched me with his fingers: neither was any thing thrown from first to last, so that I had not a speck of dirt upon my clothes. Who can deny, that God heareth the prayer? Or that he hath all power in heaven and earth?

XXXV. October 31, I preached upon Newcastle town-moor, at a small distance from the English camp, where were several thousands both of English and Germans, till they marched for Scotland. None attempted to make the least disturbance, from the beginning to the end. Yet I could not reach their hearts. The words of a scholar did not affect them, like those of a dragoon or grenadier.

November 1, a little after nine, just as I began to preach on a little eminence before the camp, the rain (which had continued all the morning) stayed, and did not begin till I had finished. A lieutenant endeavoured to make some disturbance. However, when I had done he tried to make some amends, by standing up and telling the soldiers, all I had said was very good.

November 2, also, the rain which fell before and after, was stayed while I preached. And I began to perceive some fruit of my labour: not only in the number of hearers, but in the power of God, which was more and more among them, both to wound and to heal.

Sunday 30th, I preached about half hour after eight to a larger congregation than any before, on, *The kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and believe the gospel.* And were it only for the sake of this hour I should not have thought much of staying at Newcastle longer than I intended. Between one and two in the afternoon I went to the camp once more. Abundance of people now flocked together, horse and foot, rich and poor, to whom I declared, *There is no difference: for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.* I observed many Germans standing disconsolate in the skirts of the congregation. To these I was constrained (though I had discontinued it so long) to speak a few words in their own language. Immediately they gathered up close together, and drank in every word.

XXXVI. In the beginning of December, I received some further account from the army, the substance of which was as follows:

“Rev. Sir,

“I shall acquaint you with the Lord’s dealings with us, since April last. We marched from Ghent to Allost on the 14th, where I met with two or three of our brethren in the fields. And we sung and prayed together, and were comforted. On the 15th, I met a small company about a mile from the town; and the Lord filled

our hearts with love and peace. On the 17th, we marched to the camp near Brussels. On the 18th, I met a small congregation on the side of a hill, and opened on those words, *Let us go forth therefore to him without the camp, bearing his reproach.* On the 28th, I spoke from those words of Isaiah, *Thus saith the Lord concerning the house of Jacob, Jacob shall not now be ashamed, neither shall his face now wax pale.* On the 29th, we marched close to the enemy, and when I saw them in their camp, my bowels moved towards them, in love and pity for their souls. We lay on our arms all night. In the morning, April 30th, the cannon began to play at half an hour after four. And the Lord took away all fear from me, so that I went into the field with joy. The balls flew on either hand, and men fell in abundance: but nothing touched me till about two o'clock. Then I received a ball through my left arm, and rejoiced so much the more. Soon after I received another in my right, which obliged me to quit the field. But I scarce knew whether I was on earth or in heaven. It was one of the sweetest days I ever enjoyed.

WILLIAM CLEMENTS."

Another letter (from Leare, near Antwerp) adds:

"On April 30th, the Lord was pleased to try our little flock, and to shew them his mighty power. Some days before, one of them standing at his tent door, broke out into raptures of joy, knowing his departure was at hand, and was so filled with the love of God, that he danced before his comrades. In the battle, before he died, he openly declared, 'I am going to rest from

my labours in the bosom of Jesus.' I believe nothing like this was ever heard of before, in the midst of so wicked an army as ours. Some were crying out in their wounds, 'I am going to my Beloved;' others, 'Come, Lord Jesus! Come quickly!' And many that were not wounded were crying to the Lord, to take them to himself. There was such boldness in the battle among this little despised flock, that it made the officers as well as common soldiers amazed. As to my own part, I stood the fire of the enemy for above seven hours. Then my horse was shot under me, and I was exposed both to the enemy and our own horse. But that did not discourage me at all: for I knew that the God of Jacob was with me. I had a long way to go, the balls flying on every side. And thousands lay bleeding, groaning, dying, and dead on each hand. Surely I was as in the fiery furnace; but it never singed one hair of my head. The hotter it grew, the more strength was given me. I was full of joy and love, as much as I could bear. Going on, I met one of our brethren, with a little dish in his hand seeking water. He smiled and said, He had got a sore wound in his leg. I asked, 'Have you got Christ in your heart?' He answered, 'I have, and I have had him all this day. Blessed be God, that I ever saw your face.' Lord, what am I, that I should be counted worthy to set my hand to the gospel plough! Lord, humble me, and lay me in the dust!

JOHN HAIME."

XXXVII. All this year the work of God gradually increased in the Southern counties, as well as the North of England. Many were awakened in a very remarkable manner: many were

were converted to God. Many were enabled to testify, that *the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin*. Mean time we were in most places tolerably quiet, as to popular tumults. Where any thing of the kind appeared, the magistrates usually interposed, as indeed it was their duty to do. And wherever the peace-officers do their duty, no riot can long subsist.

XXXVIII. * In February 1747, I set out for Newcastle upon Tyne, my Brother being just returned from thence. The wind was full North, and blew so exceeding hard and keen, that when we came to Hatfield, neither my companions nor I had much use of our hands or feet. After we left it, the large hail drove so vehemently in our faces that we could not see, nor hardly breathe. However we made shift to get on to Potten; whence we set out in the morning, as soon as it was well light. But it was hard work to get forward: for the ice would not well bear or break. And the untracked snow covering all the road, we had much ado to keep our horses on their feet. Mean time the wind rose higher and higher, till it was ready to overturn both man and beast. However, after a short bait at Bugden, we pushed on, and were met in the middle of an open field with so violent a storm of rain and hail, as we had not had before. It drove through our coats, great and small, boots and every thing, and yet froze as it fell, even upon our eye-lashes: so that we had scarce either strength or motion left, when we came into the inn at Stilton. However we took the advantage of a fair blast, and made the best of our way towards Stamford. But on the heath the snow

* Vol. 29, page 10.

lay in such large drifts, that sometimes horses and men were nigh swallowed up. Yet we pushed through all, and by the help of God, on Thursday evening came safe to Epworth.

XXXIX. The Monday following I set out for the Eastern parts of Lincolnshire. On Tuesday I examined the little society at Tetney. I have not seen such another in England, no, not to this day. In the class-papers, (which gives an account of the contribution for the poor) I observed one gave eightpence, often tenpence a week: another, thirteen, fifteen or eighteenpence: another, sometimes one, sometimes two shillings. I asked Micah Ekmoor, the leader, (an Israelite indeed, who now rests from his labour,) "How is this? Are you the richest society in England? He answered, "I suppose not. But as we are all single persons, we have agreed together, to give ourselves, and *all we have* to God. And we do it gladly, whereby we are able to entertain all the strangers that from time to time come to Titney, who often have no food to eat, or any friend to give them a lodging."

XL. In the following spring and summer, we were invited into many parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire, where we had not been before. In June my Brother spent sometime at Plymouth and Plymouth-Dock, and was received by the generality of the people with the utmost cordiality. But before I came, June 26th, there was a surprising change. Within two miles of Plymouth, one overtook and informed us, that all the Dock was in an uproar. Another met us, and begged we would go the back-way, for there were thousands of people at Mr. Hide's door. We rode up strait into the midst of them. They saluted us with three
huzzas,

Myzzas, after which I alighted, took several of them by the hand, and begged to talk with them. I would gladly have talked with them for an hour, and believe if I had, there had been an end of the riot. But it being past nine o'clock I was persuaded to go in. The mob then recovered their spirits, and fought valiantly with the doors and windows. But about ten they were weary and went away.

About six in the evening I went to the head of the town. While we were singing, the lieutenant, a famous man, came with a large retinue of soldiers, drummers and mob. They grew fiercer and fiercer as their numbers increased. After awhile, I walked down into the thickest of them, and took the captain of the mob by the hand. He immediately said, "Sir, I will see you safe home. Sir, no man shall touch you. Gentlemen, stand off. Give back. I will knock the first man down that touches him." We walked in great peace till we came to Mr. Hide's door, and then parted in much love. I stayed in the street after he was gone near half an hour, talking with the people, who had now quite forgot their anger, and went away in high good humour.

XLI. Hitherto God had assisted us (my Brother and me, and a handful of young men) to labour as we were able, (though frequently at the peril of our lives) in most parts of England. But our line was now stretched a little farther. On Tuesday, August 4th, I set out from Bristol for Ireland. I reached Holyhead on Saturday 8th, and finding a vessel ready, went on board, and on Sunday morning landed at St. George's-Key

in Dublin. About three I wrote a line to the curate of St. Mary's, who sent me word, he should be glad of my assistance. So I preached there, (another gentleman reading prayers,) to as gay and senseless a congregation as ever I saw. Monday 10th, at five in the morning, I met our own society, (gathered by Mr. Williams, who had been there some weeks) and preached at six, to many more than our room would contain, on *Repent ye, and believe the gospel.* In the evening I went to Marlborough-street. The house wherein we preached was originally designed for a Lutheran church, and contains about four hundred people. But abundantly more may stand in the yard. Many of the rich were there, and ministers of every denomination. If my Brother or I could have been here for a few months, I know not but there might have been as large a society as that in London.

I continued preaching morning and evening, to many more than the house could contain; and had more and more reason to hope, they would not all be unfruitful hearers. On Saturday I purposely stayed at home and spoke to all that came. But I scarce found any Irish among them. I believe ninety-nine in a hundred of the native Irish remain still in the religion of their forefathers. The Protestants, whether in Dublin or elsewhere, are all transplanted from England.

XLII. Monday 17th, I began examining the society, which I finished the next day. It contained about two hundred and fourscore members, many of whom had found peace with God. The people in general are of a more teachable spirit than in most parts of England. But on that very account they must be watched over with the

more

more care, being equally susceptible of good and ill impressions.

Sunday 23d, I began in the evening before the usual time; yet were a multitude of people got together in the house, yard, and street, abundantly more than my voice could reach. I cried aloud to as many as could hear, *All things are ready: Come ye to the marriage.* Having delivered my message, about eleven I took ship for England, leaving J. Trembath, (then a burning and shining light, and a workman that needed not to be ashamed) to water the seed which had been sown. Saturday 29th, I met my Brother at Garth in Brecknockshire, in his way to Ireland. He spent several months there, chiefly in Dublin, Athlone, Corke, and Bandon, and had great reason to bless God, that in every place, he saw the fruit of his labours.

XLIII. ^b Tuesday, March 8, 1748, Mr. Meriton, Swindells and I embarked at Holyhead, and reached Dublin in the afternoon. We went directly to our house in Cork-street, (vulgarly called Dolphin's-barn-lane,) and came thither while my Brother was meeting the society. The remaining days of the week I dispatched all the business I could. Sunday 13th, he preached both morning and evening, expecting to sail at night; but before night the wind turned East, and so continued all the week. Monday 14th, I began preaching at five in the morning, an unheard of thing in Ireland! I expounded part of the first chapter of the Acts, which I purposed, God willing, to go through in order. Sunday 20th, I preached at eight on Oxman-town-green, where the whole congregation was still as that at

London. About three I preached at Marlborough-street, and in the evening at our own house in Cork-street. Wednesday 23d, I preached to the prisoners in Newgate; but without any present effect. Friday 25th, at two, I began in Ship-street, to many rich and genteel hearers. The next day I finished meeting the classes, and was glad to find there was no loss. I left three hundred and ninety-four members in the society: and they were now three hundred and ninety-six.

XLIV. Wednesday 30th, I rode to Philip's town, the shire town of the King's County. The street was soon filled with those that flocked from every side. And even at five in the morning I had a large congregation. After preaching I spoke severally to those of the society, of whom forty were troopers. At noon I preached to a larger congregation than any in Dublin: and I am persuaded, God did then make an offer of life to all the inhabitants of Philip's town.

In the following days I preached at Tullamore, Tyrrelspass, Claro, Temple-Macqueker, Moat, and on Saturday April 2d, came to Athlone. My Brother was here some time before: although it was with the imminent hazard of his life. For within about a mile of the town he was way-laid by a very numerous popish mob, who discharged a shower of stones, which he very narrowly escaped, by setting spurs to his horse. This had an exceeding happy effect, prejudicing all the Protestants in our favour. And this seemed to increase every day. The morning I went away, most of the congregation were in tears. Indeed almost all the town seemed to be moved, full of good will and desires of salvation. But the waters were too wide to be deep. I found not one
under

under strong conviction, much less had any one attained the knowledge of salvation, in hearing above thirty sermons. After re-visiting the towns I had seen before, on Tuesday 16th, I returned to Dublin. Having spent a few days there, I made another little excursion through the country societies. Saturday, May 14th, I returned to Dublin, and had the satisfaction to find, that the work of God, not only spread wider and wider, but was also much deepened in many souls. Wednesday 18th, we took ship, and the next morning landed at Holyhead.

XLV. Saturday, April 15, 1749, I embarked again at Holyhead for Ireland, and after spending a few days in Dublin, visited all our societies in Leinster. I then went to Limerick, in the province of Munster. Mr. Swindells had prepared the way, and a society was formed already. So that I found no opposition, but every one seemed to say, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" But the more I conversed with this friendly people, the more I was amazed. That God had wrought a great work among them was manifest. And yet the main of the believers and unbelievers, were not able to give a rational account of the plainest principles of religion. 'Tis clear, God begins his work at the heart: then the inspiration of the Highest giveth understanding. On Tuesday 29th, I set out for Cork: but the next day Mr. Skelton met me, just come from thence, and informed me, it was impossible for me to preach there while the riotous mob filled the street. They had for some time done what they listed; broke into the houses of all that were called Methodists, or (as their elegant

terms was, Swadlers) and beat or abused them just as they pleased: the worthy mayor! Daniel Crone, esq; encouraged them so to do, and told them, "You may do any thing but kill them, because that is contrary to law." So I rode through Cork to Bandon, and having spent a few days there, returned to Dublin nearly the same way I came: only touching at Portarlington, and a few other places which I had not seen before.

XLVI. In all this journey I had the satisfaction to find, that ever since I was in Ireland first, my fellow-labourers had been fully employed in watering the seed that had been sown. And it had pleased God, exceedingly to bless their labours in Munster, as well as in Leinster. In various parts of both these provinces, considerable numbers were brought, not from one opinion or mode of worship to another, but from darkness to light, from serving the devil, to serve the living God. This is the point, the only point for which both I and they think it worth our while to labour, desiring no recompense beside the testimony of our conscience, and what we look for in the resurrection of the just.

I have purposely placed together in one view what was transacted in Ireland for three years, and shall now mention a few things done in England during that period.

XLVII. During all this time, the work of God (it is no cant word: it means the conversion of sinners from sin to holiness) was both widening and deepening, not only in London and Bristol, but in most parts of England: there being scarce any county, and not many large towns wherein there were not more or fewer witnesses of it. Mean time the greatest numbers were brought

brought to the great Shepherd of their souls (next to London and Bristol) in Cornwall, the West-riding of Yorkshire, and Newcastle upon Tyne. But still we were obliged in many places, to carry our lives in our hands. Several instances of this have been related already. I will mention one more.

^k Friday, February 12, 1748, after preaching at Oakhill, (a village in Somersetshire,) I rode on to Shepton; but found all the people under a strange consternation. A mob, they said, was hired and made sufficiently drunk, to do all manner of mischief. Nevertheless I preached in peace: the mob being assembled at another place where I used to alight. And they did not find their mistake, till I had done preaching. They then attended us to William Stone's house, throwing dirt, stones, and clods in abundance: but they could not hurt us. Mr. Swindells had only a little dirt on his coat, and I a few specks on my hat. After we were gone into the house, they began throwing large stones, in order to break the door: but finding this would require some time, they first poured in a shower of stones at the windows. One of their captains, in his great zeal, had thrust into the house, and was now shut in with us. He would fain have got out; but it was not possible. So he kept as close to me as he could, thinking himself safest when he was near me. But staying a little behind when I went up two pair of stairs, a large stone struck him on the forehead, and the blood spouted out like a stream. He cried out, "O Sir, are we to die to-night? What must I do?" I said,

^k Vol. xxix. page 78.

"Pray to God." He took my advice, and began praying as he had scarce ever done before.

Mr. Swindells and I then went to prayer: after which I told him, "We must not stay here." He said, "Sir, we cannot stir; you see how the stones fly about." I walked straight through the room, and down the stairs, and not a stone came in till we were at the bottom. The mob had just broke open the door when we came into the lower room: and while they burst in at one door, we walked out at the other. Nor did one man take any notice of us, though we were within five yards of each other. They filled the house at once, and proposed setting it on fire. But one of them would not consent, his house adjoining to it. Hearing one of them cry out, "They are gone over the grounds," I thought the hint was good. So we went over the grounds to the far end of the town, where one waited and guided us safe to Oakhill.

XLVIII. ¹Friday, June 24th, being the day we had appointed for opening the school at Kingswood, I preached there on, *Train up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.* My Brother and I then administered the Lord's supper to many who came from far. We then agreed on the general rules of the school, which we published soon after.

XLIX. ^mOn July 18th, I began my journey Northward from Newcastle. Having appointed to preach in Morpeth at noon, I accordingly went to the cross. But I had scarce begun, when a young man appeared at the head of his troop, and told me very plainly and roughly,

¹ page 111. ^m page 116.

"You shall not preach here." I went on, upon which he gave the signal to his companions. But they quickly fell out among themselves. So I went on without any considerable interruption, the multitude softening more and more, till towards the close, the far greater part appeared exceeding serious and attentive.

In the afternoon we rode to Widdrington. The people flocked from all parts, and every man hung upon the word. None stirred his head or hand, or looked to the right hand or the left, while I declared in strong terms, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Tuesday 19th, I preached at Alemouth, a small sea-port town, and then rode to Alnwick, one of the largest inland towns in Northumberland. At seven I preached at the cross to a multitude of people, much resembling those at Athlone. All were moved a little; but none much. The waters spread wide; but not deep.

On Wednesday I went to Berwick upon Tweed, and preached both that and the next evening, as well as the following morning, in a large, green space, near the Governor's house. A little society had been formed there before, which was now considerably increased: and several members of it (most of whom are now in Abraham's bosom) walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called. After preaching at several other places in the way, on Saturday 23d, I returned to Newcastle.

L. During the summer, there was a large increase of the work of God, both in Northumberland, the county of Durham, and Yorkshire. As likewise in the most savage part of Lancashire; though here in particular, the Preachers

carried their lives in their hands. A specimen of the treatment they met with there, may be seen in the brief account following.

"On August 26th, while I was speaking to some quiet people at Roughlee, near Coln in Lancashire, a drunken rabble came, the captain of whom said, he was a deputy constable, and I must go with him. I had scarce gone ten yards, when a man of his company struck me in the face with all his might. Another threw his stick at my head: all the rest were like as many ramping and roaring lions. They brought me, with Mr. Grimshaw, the minister of Haworth; Mr. Colbeck of Kighley, and Mr. Macford, of Newcastle, (who never recovered the abuse he then received) into a public-house at Barrowford, a neighbouring village, where all their forces were gathered together.

Soon after Mr. Hargrave, the high constable came, and required me to promise, I would come to Roughlee no more. This I flatly refused. But upon saying, "I will not preach here now," he undertook to quiet the mob. While he and I walked out at one door, Mr. Grimshaw and Colbeck went out at the other. The mob immediately closed them in, tost them to and fro with the utmost violence; threw Mr. Grimshaw down, and loaded them both with dirt and mire of every kind. The other quiet, harmless people, who followed me at a distance, they treated full as ill. They poured upon them showers of dirt and stones, without any regard to age or sex. Some of them they trampled in the mire, and dragged by the hair of the head. Many they beat with their clubs without mercy.

One they forced to leap from a rock, ten or twelve feet high into the river. And when he crept out, wet and bruised, were hardly persuaded, not to throw him in again. Such was the recompense we frequently received from our countrymen for our labour of love!

LL. April 7, 1750, I embarked in the morning at Holyhead, and in the evening landed in Dublin. Here I received a full account of the shocking outrages which had been committed in Cork, for several months together, which the good magistrates rather encouraged than opposed, till at the Lent assizes, several depositions were laid before the grand jury. Yet they did not find any of these bills! But they found a bill against Daniel Sullivan, a baker, who when the mob were discharging a shower of stones upon him, discharged a pistol (without ball) over their heads, which put them into such bodily fear, that they all ran away, without looking behind them.

Being desirous of giving the poor, desolate sufferers, all the assistance I could, I made a swift journey through the inland societies, and on Saturday, May the 19th, came to Cork. The next day, understanding the house was small, about eight I went to Hammond's Marsh. It was then a large open space; but is now built over. The congregation was large and deeply attentive. I have seldom seen a more orderly assembly at any church in England or Ireland.

In the afternoon, Mr. Skelton and Jones waited on the mayor, and asked, If my preaching on the Marsh would be disagreeable to him? He answered, "Sir, I will have no more mobs and riots." Mr. Skelton replied, "Sir, Mr. Wesley has made none." He answered plain,

plain, "Sir, I will have no more preaching. And if Mr. Welley attempts it, I am prepared for him."

I would not therefore attempt to preach on the Marsh, but began in our own house about five. The good mayor mean time was walking in the Change, and giving orders to his serjeants and the town drummers, who immediately came down to the house, with an innumerable mob attending them. They continued drumming, and I continued preaching, till I had finished my discourse. When I came out, the mob presently closed me in. Observing one of the serjeants standing by, I desired him to keep the King's peace. But he replied, "Sir, I have no orders to do that." As soon as I came into the open street, the rabble threw whatever came to hand. But all went by me, or over my head, nor do I remember that any thing touched me. I walked straight through the midst of the rabble, looking every man before me in the face; and they opened to the right and left, till I came near Dant's bridge. A large party had taken possession of this: but when I came up, they likewise shrunk back, and I walked through them to Mr. Jenkins' house. But a stout Papist-woman stood just within the door, and would not let me come in, till one of the mob, (aiming I suppose at *me*, but missing *me*,) knocked *her* down flat. I then went in, and God restrained the wild beasts, so that not one attempted to follow me.

But many of the congregation were more roughly handled; particularly Mr. Jones, who was covered with mud, and escaped with his life almost by miracle. Finding the mob were not inclined to disperse, I sent to alderman Pembroke, who immediately desired alderman Wentthrop,

Wenthop, his nephew, to go down to Mr. Jenkins': with whom I walked up the street, none giving me an unkind or disrespectful word.

All the following week, it was at the peril of his life, if any Methodist stirred out of doors. And the case was much the same during the whole mayoralty of Mr. Crone. But the succeeding mayor declared in good earnest, "There shall be no more mobs or riots in Cork." And he did totally suppress them. So that from that time forward, even the Methodists enjoyed the same liberty with the rest of his Majesty's subjects.

LII. In the mean time, the work of God went on with little opposition, both in other parts of the county of Cork, and at Waterford, and Limerick, as well as in Mountmelick, Athlone, Longford, and most parts of the province of Leinster. In my return from Cork, I had an opportunity of visiting all these. And I had the satisfaction of observing, how greatly God had blessed my fellow-labourers, and how many sinners were saved from the error of their ways. Many of these had been eminent for all manner of sins: many had been Roman-catholics. And I suppose the number of these would have been far greater, had not the good Protestants, as well as the Popish Priests, taken true pains to hinder them.

LIII. It was on April 24, 1751, that Mr. Hopper and I set out for Scotland. I was invited thither by captain (afterwards colonel) Galatin, who was then quartered at Musselborough. I had no intention to preach in Scotland; not imagining there were any that desired I should. But I was mistaken. Curiosity (if nothing else) brought abundance of people together in the evening. And whereas in the kirk (Mrs. Galatin informed

informed me) there used to be laughing and talking, and all the marks of the grossest inattention: it was far otherwise here. They remained as statues, from the beginning of the sermon to the end. I preached again, at six the next evening, on *Seek ye the Lord while he may be found*. I used great plainness of speech towards high and low: and they all received it in love: so that the prejudice which the devil had been several years planting, was torne up by the roots in one hour. After preaching, one of the Bailiffs of the town, with one of the Elders of the kirk, came to me, and begged, I would stay with them awhile, nay, if it were but two or three days, and they would fit up a far larger place than the school, and prepare seats for the congregations. Had not my time been fixed, I should gladly have complied. All that I could now do was to give them a promise, that Mr. Hopper would come back the next week and spend a few days with them. He did accordingly come, and spent a fortnight, preaching every day. And it was not without a fair prospect. The congregations were very numerous. Many were cut to the heart: several joined together in a little society. Some of these are now removed to Abraham's bosom, and some remain to this day.

LIV. ° February 28, 1753, I looked over Mr. Prince's Christian History. What an amazing difference is there in the manner wherein God has carried on his work in England and in America! There, above a hundred of the established clergymen of age and experience, and of the greatest note for sense and learning of any in

those parts, were zealously engaged in the work. Here, almost the whole body of the aged, experienced, learned clergy are zealously engaged against it: and but a handful of raw, young men engaged in it, without name, learning, or eminent sense! And yet by that large number of honourable men the work seldom flourished above six months at a time. And then followed a lamentable and general decay, before the next revival of it. Mean time that which God has wrought by these despised instruments, has continued increasing for fifteen years together. Yea, we may now say, (blessed be the God of all grace) for three and forty years together. And at whatever time it has declined in any one place, it has more eminently flourished in another.

LV. ^p April 15th, I set out for Scotland again, not indeed for Musselborough, but Glasgow, to which place I was invited by Mr. Gillies, the minister of the college-kirk. I came thither the next evening, and lodged at his house. Thursday 19th, at seven, I preached about a quarter of a mile from the town, and at four in the afternoon to a far larger congregation. I had designed to preach at the same place on Friday morning. But as it rained, Mr. Gillies desired me to preach in his church. At four in the afternoon we had a far larger congregation than the church could have contained. At seven Mr. Gillies preached a home, affectionate sermon. Has not God still a favour for this city? It was long eminent for religion. And he is able to repair what is now decayed, and to build up the waste places.

On Saturday, both in the morning and evening, I preached to numerous congregations.

Sunday 22d, it rained much. Nevertheless upwards (I suppose) of a thousand people stayed with all willingness, while I explained and applied, *This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* I was desired to preach afterwards at the prison, which I did about nine o'clock. All the felons, as well as debtors, behaved with the utmost decency. It may be some, even of these poor sinners, will occasion *joy in heaven.*

The behaviour of the people at church, both morning and afternoon, was beyond any thing I ever saw, but in *our* congregations; none bowed or curtised to each other, either before or after service: from the beginning to the end of which none talked, or looked at any but the minister. Surely much of the *power* of religion *was* here, where so much of the *form* still remains. The meadow where I stood in the afternoon, was full from side to side. I spoke as closely as ever I did in my life. Many of the students, and many of the soldiers were there. And they could indeed bear sound doctrine. Having now delivered my own soul, I rode on Monday to Traneat, and the next day to Berwick.

LVI. ^a Sunday, June 23d, that blessed man, Mr. Walsb, preached at Short's gardens, in Irish. Abundance of his countrymen flocked to hear, and some were cut to the heart. Sunday, July 1st, he preached in Irish in Moorfields. The congregation was exceeding large. And all behaved seriously: though probably many of them came purely to hear what manner of language it was. For the sake of these he preached afterwards in English, if by any means he might

^a page 268, &c.

gain some. And wherever he preached, whether in English or Irish, the word was sharper than a two-edged sword. So that I do not remember ever to have known any preacher, who, in so few years as he remained upon earth, was an instrument of converting so many sinners from the error of their ways.

LVII. Tuesday, July 10th, after one of our preachers had been there for some time, I crossed over from Portsmouth into the Isle of Wight. From Cowes we rode straight to Newport, the chief town in the isle, and found a little society in tolerable order. Several of them had found peace with God, and walked in the light of his countenance. At half hour after six, I preached in the market-place to a numerous congregation. But many of them were remarkably ill-behaved. The children made much noise: and many grown persons were talking aloud, almost all the time I was preaching. There was a large congregation again at five in the morning: and every person therein, seemed to know that this was the word whereby God would judge him in the last day. In the evening the congregation was more numerous, and far more serious than the night before. Only one drunken man made a little disturbance. But the mayor ordered him to be taken away. In October I visited them again, and spent three or four days with much comfort; finding those who had before professed to find peace, had walked suitably to their profession.

LVIII. August 6, 1755, I mentioned to our congregation in London, a means of increasing serious religion, which had been frequently practised by our forefathers, the joining in a Co-

venant to serve God, with all our heart and with all our soul. I explained this for several mornings following; and on Friday, many of us kept a fast unto the Lord, beseeching him to give us wisdom and strength, that we might *promise unto the Lord our God and keep it*. On Monday at six in the evening we met for that purpose, at the French church in Spitalfields. After I had recited the tenor of the Covenant proposed, in the words of that blessed man, Richard Allen, all the people stood up, in token of assent, to the number of about eighteen hundred. Such a night I scarce ever knew before. Surely the fruit of it shall remain for ever.

LIX. * January 1, 1756. How much were men divided in their expectations concerning the ensuing year? Some believed that it would bring a large harvest of temporal calamities. Others, that it would be unusually fruitful of spiritual blessings. Indeed, the general expectation of those calamities, spread a general seriousness over the nation. This was a means of abundant spiritual blessings. We endeavoured in every part of the kingdom, to avail ourselves of the apprehensions which we frequently found it was impossible to remove, in order to make them conducive to a nobler end, to that *fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom*. And at this season I wrote, "An Address to the Clergy," which, considering the situation of public affairs, I judged would be more seasonable, and more easily borne at this time than at any other.

LX. * March 30th, I visited Ireland again, and after seeing the societies in Leinster and Munster, in the latter end of June, went with

* Vol. xxx. page 54. * page 67, and sequel.

Mr. Walsh into the province of Connaught. We went through the counties of Clare and Galway, to Castlebarr, the chief town of the county of Mayo. The Rector having left word that I should have the use of his church, I preached morning and evening to a very large congregation. Mr. Walsh afterwards preached in the Court-house, to another numerous and serious congregation. On Tuesday I rode over to Newport, eleven miles from Castlebarr, on the very extremity of the land. The Rector had before given me an invitation. Between seven and eight I preached to (I suppose) more than all the Protestants in the town. Deep attention sat on every face; and surely God touched some of their hearts. On Wednesday I returned to Castlebarr. There was just such a work here, as that at Athlone some years ago, and afterwards at Limerick. All were *pleased*, but very few *convinced*. The stream ran very wide, but very shallow.

LXI. July 12th, after preaching at many of the intermediate places, I went on to Longford. I began at five in the Old-Barrack. A huge crowd soon flocked in; but most of the Papists stood at the gate, or just without the wall. They were all as still as night: nor did I hear an uncivil word, while I walked from one end of the town to the other.

But how is it, that almost in every place, even where there is no lasting fruit, there is so great an impression made at first upon a considerable number of people? The fact is this: every where the work of God rises higher and higher, till it comes to a point. Here it seems for a short time to be at a stay: and then it gradually sinks again.

All this may easily be accounted for. At first, curiosity brings many hearers: at the same time God draws many by his preventing grace to hear his word, and comforts them in hearing. One then tells another. By this means on the one hand, curiosity spreads and increases; and on the other, the drawings of God's spirit touch more hearts, and many of them more powerfully than before. He now offers grace to all that hear, most of whom are in some measure affected, and more or less moved with approbation of what they hear, have a desire to please God, with good-will to his messenger. And these principles variously combined and increasing, raise the general work to its highest point. But it cannot stand here in the nature of things. Curiosity must soon decline. Again, the drawings of God are not followed, and thereby the Holy Spirit is grieved: he strives with this and that man no more, and so his drawings end. Thus the causes of the general impression declining, most of the hearers will be less and less affected. Add to this, that in process of time, *it must be that offences will come*. Some of the hearers, if not teachers also, will act contrary to their profession. Either their follies or faults will be told from one to another, and lose nothing in the telling. Men once curious to hear, will hear no more: men once drawn, having stifled their good desires, will disapprove what they approved of before, and feel dislike instead of good-will to the preachers. Others who were more or less convinced, will be afraid or ashamed to acknowledge that conviction. And all these will catch at ill stories, true or false, in order to justify their charge. When by that means, all who do not savingly believe have quenched the Spirit of God, the
little

little flock that remain, go on from faith to faith; the rest sleep and take their rest. And thus the number of hearers in every place may be expected, first to increase, and then to decrease.

LXII. Monday 19th, I first set foot in the province of Ulster. But several of our preachers had been labouring in various parts of it for some years. And they had seen much fruit of their labour. Many sinners had been convinced of the error of their ways; many, truly converted to God. And a considerable number of these had united together, in order to strengthen each others hands in God. I preached in the evening at Newry to a large congregation, and to a great part of them at five in the morning. Afterwards I spoke to the members of the society, consisting of Churchmen, Dissenters, and (late) Papists. But there is no striving among them, *unless to enter in at the straight gate.*

On Tuesday I preached at Terryuagan, near Scarva; on Wednesday in the market-house at Lisburn. Here the Rector and the Curate called upon me, candidly proposed their objections, and spent about two hours in free, serious, friendly conversation. How much evil might be prevented or removed, would other clergymen follow their example?

LXIII. I preached in the evening at Belfast, the largest town in Ulster, to as large a congregation as at Lisburn, and to near the same number in the morning. Hence we rode along the shore to Carrickfergus, said to be the most ancient town in the province. I preached in the Session-house at seven, to most of the inhabitants of the town. Sunday 25th, at nine, I preached in the upper Court-house, which was much larger, and at eleven went to church. After dinner one of our friends asked, If I was ready to go to

the Presbyterian Meeting? I told him, "I never go to a meeting." He seemed as much astonished, as the old Scot at Newcastle, who left us, "because we were mere *Church of England men*." We are so, although we condemn none *who have been brought up* in another way.

LXIV. Monday 26th, Mr. Walsh met me at Belfast, and informed me, that the day before he was at Newtown intending to preach; but while he was at prayer, one Mr. Mortimer came with a drunken mob, seized him by the throat, and dragged him along, till a stout man seized him and constrained him to quit his hold. Mr. Walsh having refreshed himself at a friend's house, began a second time. But in a quarter of an hour Mr. Mortimer having rallied his mob came again: on which Mr. Walsh gave him the ground, and walked away over the fields.

On Tuesday evening I preached in the market-house at Lurgan. Many of the gentry were met in the room over this, it being the time of the assembly. The violins were just tuning. But they ceased till I had done: and the novelty (at least) drew and fixt the attention of the whole company. Having visited most of the societies in Ulster, I returned to Dublin, August 5th. On Tuesday evening I preached my farewell sermon. But it was still a doubt, (though I had bespoken the cabin of the packet for myself and my friends) whether we should sail or no: Sir Thomas Prendergast having sent word to the Captain, that he would go over: and it being his custom (*hominis magnificentian!*) to keep the whole ship to himself. But the wind turning foul, he would not go: so about noon Mr. Walsh, Houghton, Morgan, and I went on board, and fell down to the mouth of the harbour. The next evening we landed at Holyhead.

LXV. * Thursday

LXV. ^v Thursday 26th, about fifty of the Preachers being met at Bristol, the Rules of the Society were read over, and carefully considered one by one. But we did not find any that could be spared. So we agreed to retain and inforce them all.

The next day the Rules of the Bands were read over, and considered one by one, which after some verbal alterations, we all agreed to observe and inforce.

On Saturday the Rules of Kingswood School were read over, and considered one by one. And we were fully satisfied, that they were all agreeable both to scripture and reason.

My Brother and I closed the Conference by a solemn declaration of our purpose never to separate from the Church. And all our brethren cheerfully concurred therein.

LXVI. ^w February 28, 1757, one of our Preachers wrote me the following letter :

Rev. and dear Sir,

“ At Bradford, on the 30th of January last, I was prest for a soldier and carried to the inn where the gentlemen were. Mr. Pearse offered bail for my appearance the next day. They said, they would take his word for a thousand pounds: but not for *me*: I must go to the round-house: the little stone room on the side of the bridge. So thither I was conveyed by five soldiers. I found nothing to sit on but a stone, and nothing to lie on but a little straw. But soon after, a friend sent me a chair, on which I sat all night. I had a double guard, twelve soldiers in all, two without, one in the door, and the rest within. I passed the night without sleep; but, blessed be God, not without rest; for my peace was not

broken a moment. My body was in prison: but I was Christ's free-man; my soul was at liberty. And even there I found some work to do for God. I had a fair opportunity of speaking to them that durst not leave me. And I hope it was not in vain.

"The next day I was carried before the Commissioners, and part of the act read, which empowered them to take such able bodied men as *had no business, and had no lawful or sufficient maintenance*. Then I said, 'But I have a lawful calling, being in partnership with my brother, and have also an estate. Give me time, and you shall have full proof of this.' They agreed. The next day I set out for Cornwall. After staying at home a few days, on Saturday I came to Bradford. On Monday I appeared before the Commissioners, with the writings of my estate. When they had perused them, they set me at liberty. I hope you will give thanks to God, for my deliverance out of the hands of unreasonable and wicked men.

WILLIAM HICHINS."

LXVII. * March 13th, finding myself weak at Snow-fields, I prayed that God, if he saw good, would send me help at the chapel. He did so. As soon as I had done preaching, Mr. Fletcher came, who had just then been ordained Priest, and hastened to the chapel, on purpose to assist me, as he supposed me to be alone. How wonderful are the ways of God! When my bodily strength failed, and no clergyman in England was able and willing to assist me, he sent me help from the mountains of Switzerland! And a

help-meet for me in every respect ! Where could I have found such another !

LXVIII. ^y Monday, April 11th, at five in the evening about twelve hundred of the society met me at Spitalfields. I expected two clergymen to help me ; but none came. I held out till between seven and eight. I was then scarce able to walk or speak. But I looked up and received strength. At half hour after nine, God broke in mightily upon the congregation. *Great indeed was our glorying in him : we were filled with consolation.* And when I returned home between ten and eleven, I was no more tired than at ten in the morning.

LXIX. ^z Tuesday, October 25th, as I was returning from Bath, a man met me at Hannam, and told me, " The school-house in Kingswood is burnt down." When I came thither I was informed, about eight the night before, two or three boys went into the gallery up two pair of stairs. One of them heard a strange cracking in the room above. Opening the stair-case door, he was beat back by smoke, on which he cried out, " Fire, murder, fire ! " Mr. Baynes hearing this, ran immediately down, and brought up a pail of water. But going in and seeing the blaze, he had not presence of mind to go up to it, but threw the water upon the floor. The room was quickly all in a flame : the deal partitions taking fire, and spreading to the upper rooms of the house. Water enough was now brought, but none could come near the place where it was wanted, the room being so filled with flame and smoke. At last a long ladder was reared up against the wall of the house. But it was then

observed, that one of the sides of it was broke in two, and the other quite rotten. However, John Haw, a young man that lived next door, ran up it, with an axe in his hand. But he then found the ladder was so short, that as he stood on the top of it, he could but just lay one hand over the battlements. How he got over them to the leads none can tell: but he did so, and immediately made a hole through the roof: on which a vent being made, the smoke and flame issued out, as from a furnace. Those who brought water, but were stopped before by the smoke, then got upon the leads and poured it down through the tiling. By this means the fire was quickly quenched, having only consumed part of the partition, with some clothes, and a little damaged the roof, and the floor beneath. It is amazing that so little hurt was done. For the fire, (which began in the middle of the room, none knew how) was so violent that it broke every pane of glass but two, in the window, both at the East and West end: what was more amazing still was, that it did not hurt either the beds, (which seemed all covered with flame) or the deal partitions on the other side of the room, though it beat against them for a considerable time. What can we say to these things, but that God had fixt the bounds which it could not pass!

LXX. Having before visited ^a most other parts of Ireland, on May 27, 1758, I entered the county of Sligo, bordering on the Western Ocean, I think the best peopled that I have seen in the kingdom. I believe the town is above half as large as Limerick. Sunday 28th, at nine, I preached in the Market-house to a numerous

congregation. But they were doubled at five in the afternoon, and God made his *word quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword*. And from that time, there have never been wanting a few in Sligo, who worship God in spirit and in truth. In many other parts of the county likewise, many sinners have been truly converted to God.

¶ LXXI. ^b June 17th, I met Thomas Walsh once more in Limerick, alive and but just alive. Three of the best physicians in these parts had attended him, and all agreed that it was a lost case: that by violent straining of his voice, he had contracted a true, pulmanary consumption, which was then in the last stage, and beyond the reach of any human help. O what a man, to be snatched away in the strength of his years! Surely thy judgments are a great deep!

LXXII. I rode over to Courtmattress, a colony of Germans, whose parents came out of the Palatinate, in queen Anne's reign. Twenty families of them settled here: twenty more at Killihaen, a mile off; fifty at Balligarane, two miles eastward, and twenty at Pallas, four miles farther. Each family had a few acres of ground, on which they built as many little houses. They are since considerably increased, not indeed in families, but in number of souls. Having no minister, they were become eminent for drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and an utter contempt of religion. But they are changed since they heard, and willingly received the truth as it is in Jesus. An oath is now rarely heard among them, or a drunkard seen in their borders. They have built a pretty large preaching-house, in the middle of Courtmattress. But it would not contain one

half of the congregation. So I stood in a large yard. Many times afterwards I preached at Balligarane and Pallas, so did my fellow-labourers, and with lasting effect. So did God at last provide for these poor strangers, who for fifty years had none that cared for their souls!

The plain, old Bible religion had now made its way into every county in Ireland, save Kerry. And many in each county, and in most large towns, were happy witnesses of it. But I doubt not, there would have been double the number, had not true pains been taken by Protestants (so called) as well as Papists, either to prevent their hearing, or at least to prevent their laying to heart, the word that is able to save their souls.

LXXIII. ^c March 3, 1759, I rode to Colchester, and found that out of the hundred and twenty-six I had left here last year, we had lost only twelve: in the place of whom we had gained forty. Such is the fruit of visiting from house to house!

^d Having at length submitted to the importunity of my friends, and consented to hire James Wheatley's Tabernacle at Norwich, I went on thither on Tuesday, and enquiring the next day, found that neither any society, nor any subscribers were left. So that every thing was to be wrought out of the ore, or rather out of the cinders. In the evening I desired those who were willing to join, would speak to me the next day. About twenty did so; but the greater part of them appeared like frightened sheep. On Saturday and Sunday about forty more came, and thirty or forty on Monday. Two-thirds of them seemed to have known God's pardoning love.

Doth he not send by whom he *will* send? In a week or two more, having joined the new members with those of the old society, all together amounted to four hundred and twenty, and by April 1st, to above five hundred and seventy. A hundred and five of these were in no society before, although many of them had found peace with God. I believe they would have increased to a thousand, if I could have stayed a fortnight longer. But which of these will hold fast their profession? The fowls of the air will devour some. The sun will scorch more, and others will be choaked by the thorns springing up. I wonder we should ever expect that half of those that at first *hear the word with joy*, will *bring forth fruit unto perfection*!

LXXIV. In May, the work of God exceedingly increased, at and near Everton in Huntingdonshire. I cannot give a clearer view of this, than by transcribing the journal of an eye witness.

“ Sunday May 20th, several fainted and cried out while Mr. Berridge was preaching. Afterwards at church, many cried out, especially children, whose agonies were amazing. One of the eldest, a girl ten or twelve years old, was in violent contorsions of body, and wept aloud, I think incessantly, during the whole service. And several much younger children, were agonizing as this did. The church was crowded within and without, so that Mr. Berridge was almost stifled by the breath of the people. I believe there were three times more men than women, a great part of whom came from far. The text was, *Having the form of godliness, but denying the power of it.* When the power of religion came to be spoken

of, the presence of God filled the place. And while poor sinners felt the sentence of death in their souls, what sounds of distress did I hear? The greatest number of them that cried out were men; but some women, and several children, felt the power of the same almighty Spirit, and seemed just sinking into hell. This occasioned a mixture of various sounds, some shrieking, some roaring aloud. The most general was, a loud breathing, like that of persons half strangled and gasping for life. And indeed most of the cries were like those of dying creatures. Great numbers wept without any noise. Others fell down as dead: some sinking in silence: some with extreme pain and violent agitation. I stood on the pew seat, as did a young man in the opposite pew, an able-bodied, healthy countryman. But in a moment, while he seemed to think of nothing less, down he dropped with a violence inconceivable. And the beating of his feet were ready to break the boards, as he lay in strong convulsions at the bottom of the pew. Among the children who felt the arrows of the Almighty, I saw a sturdy boy, about eight years old, who roared above his fellows, and seemed to struggle with the strength of a grown man. His face was red as scarlet, and almost all on whom God laid his hand, turned either very red or almost black. When I returned to Mr. Berridge's house, after a little walk, I found it full of people. He was fatigued, yet said he would give them a word of exhortation. I stayed in the next room, and saw a girl lying as dead. In a few minutes, a woman was filled with peace and joy. She had come thirteen miles, and had dreamed, Mr. Berridge would come to her village, on that very day whereon he did come, though without either knowing the place or the way

way to it. She was convinced at that time. Just as we heard of her deliverance, the girl on the floor began to stir. She was then set in a chair, and after sighing awhile, suddenly rose up, rejoicing in God. She frequently fell on her knees, but was generally running to and fro, speaking these and the like words, "O what can Jesus do for lost sinners! He has forgiven me all my sins." Mean time I saw a thin, pale girl, weeping with joy for her companion, and with sorrow for herself. Quickly the smiles of heaven came likewise on her face, and her praises joined with those of the other.

LXXV. "Two or three well dressed young women who seemed careless before, now cried out with a loud and bitter cry. We continued praising God with all our might: and his work went on. I had for some time observed a young woman all in tears; but now her countenance changed: her face was as quick as lightning, filled with smiles, and became of a crimson colour. Immediately after, a stranger who stood facing me, fell backward to the wall: then forward on his knees, wringing his hands and roaring like a bull. His face at first turned quite red: then almost black: he rose and ran against the wall, till two persons held him. He screamed, 'O what shall I do? O for one drop of the blood of Christ!' As he spoke, God set his soul at liberty, and the rapture he was in, seemed almost too great to be borne. He had come forty miles to hear Mr. Berridge, and was to leave him the next morning, which he did with a glad heart, telling all who came in his way, what God had done for his soul.

LXXVI. "About the time Mr. Coe, (that was his name) began to rejoice, a girl about twelve

years old, exceeding poorly drest, appeared to be as deeply wounded as any. But I lost sight of her, till I heard of another born in Sion, and found upon enquiry, it was her. And now I saw such a sight, as I do not expect to see again on this side eternity. The faces of three children, and I think, of all the believers, did really shine. And such a beauty, such a look of extreme happiness, and of divine love and simplicity, I never saw in human faces till now. The newly justified eagerly embraced one another, weeping on each other's necks for joy. Then they saluted all of their own sex, and besought all to help them in praising God.

LXXVII. "Thursday 24th, I went to hear Mr. Hickes at Wrestlingworth, four miles from Everton. We were glad to hear that he had given himself up to the work of God, and that the power of the Highest fell on his hearers, as on Mr. Berridge's. While he was preaching, fifteen or sixteen persons felt the arrows of the Almighty, and dropped down. A few of these cried out with the utmost violence, and with little intermission, for some hours; while the rest made no great noise, but continued struggling, as in the pangs of death. Besides these, one little girl was deeply convinced, and a boy, nine or ten years old. Both these, and several others, when carried into the parsonage-house, either lay as dead, or struggled with all their might. But in a short time, their cries increased above measure. I prayed, and for a time all were calm. But the storm soon rose again. Mr. Hickes then prayed, and afterwards Mr. Berridge. But still, though some received consolation, others remained in deep sorrow of heart.

" Upon

“ Upon the whole, I remark, that few antient people experience any thing of this work of God: and scarce any of the rich. These generally shew either an utter contempt of it, or an enmity to it. Indeed so did Mr. Hickes himself some time since, even denying the sacrament to those who went to hear Mr. Berridge. As neither of these gentlemen have much eloquence; the Lord hereby more clearly shews that it is his own work. It extends into Cambridgeshire, to within a mile of the University: and about as far into Huntingdonshire; but flourishes most of all in the Eastern and Northern parts of Bedfordshire. The violent struggling of many in the above mentioned churches, has broke several pews and benches. Yet it is common for people to remain unaffected there, and afterwards drop down in their way home. Some have been found lying as dead in the road: others in Mr. Berridge’s garden; not being able to walk from the church to his house, though it is not two hundred yards.”

LXXVIII. ‘Saturday, November 24th, I rode to Everton (having been there some months before.) On Sunday afternoon, God was eminently present with us, though rather to comfort than convince. But I observed a remarkable difference since I was here, as to the manner of the work. None now were in trances; none cried out; none fell down, or were convulsed. Only some trembled exceedingly; a low murmur was heard; and many were refreshed with the multitude of peace. The danger was to regard *extraordinary* circumstances too much, such as outcries, convulsions, visions, trances, as if these were *essential* to the inward work, so that

it *could not* go on without them. Perhaps the danger is, to regard them too little; to condemn them altogether; to imagine they had nothing of God in them: yea, were a hinderance to the work: whereas the truth is, 1. God suddenly and strongly convinced many, that they were undone, lost sinners; the *natural* consequences whereof were sudden outcries, and strong bodily convulsions: 2. To strengthen and encourage them that believed, and to make his work more apparent, he favoured several of them with divine dreams, others with trances or visions: 3. In some of these instances, after a time, nature mixed with grace: 4. Satan likewise mimicked *this part of the work of God*, in order to discredit the *whole* work. And yet it is not wise to give up *this part*, any more than to give up *the whole*. At first, it was doubtless, wholly from God. It is partly so at this day: and he will enable us to discern, how far in every case, the work is *pure*, and how far *mixt*.

LXXIX. * On Thursday 29th, the day appointed for a General Thanksgiving, I preached at West-street, Seven-Dials, London, both morning and afternoon. I believe the oldest man in England has not seen a thanksgiving day so observed before. It had the solemnity of the General Fast. All the shops were shut up. The people in the streets appeared, one and all, with an air of seriousness. The prayers, lessons, and whole public service, were admirably suited to the occasion. The prayer for our enemies, in particular, was extremely striking: perhaps it is the first instance of the kind in Europe. There was no noise, hurry, bonfires, fire-works, in the

evening, and no public diversions: this is indeed a *Christian holy-day*; a *rejoicing unto the Lord*. The next day came the news, that admiral Hawke had dispersed the French fleet.

LXXX. ^b In the beginning of the year 1760, there was a great revival of the work of God in Yorkshire. "On January 13th, (says a correspondent) about thirty persons were met together at Otley, (a town ten miles North-east of Leeds) in the evening, in order (as usual) to pray, sing hymns, and to provoke one another to love and to good works. When they came to speak of the several states of their souls, some with deep sighs, and groans, complained of the heavy burden they felt, from the remains of inbred sin: seeing in a clearer light than ever before, the necessity of a deliverance from it. When they had spent the usual time together, a few went to their own houses; but the rest remained upon their knees, groaning for the *great and precious promises*. When one of them was desired to pray, he no sooner lifted up his voice to God, than the Holy Ghost made intercession in all that were present, *with groanings that could not be uttered*. And in awhile they expressed the travail of their souls, by loud and bitter cries. They had no doubt of the favour of God; but they could not rest while they had any thing in them contrary to his nature. One cried out in an agony, 'Lord, deliver me from my sinful nature!' Then a second, a third, a fourth. And while he that prayed first was uttering those words, 'Thou God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, hear us for the sake of thy son Jesus,' one broke out, 'Blessed be the Lord for ever, for

he has purified my heart!" Another, "Praise the Lord with me; for he has cleansed my heart from sin:" another cried, "I am hanging over the pit of hell!" Another shrieked out, "I am in hell: O save me, save me!" While another said, with a far different voice, "Blessed be the Lord, for he hath pardoned all my sins!" Thus they continued for the space of two hours, some praising and magnifying God; some crying to him for pardon or purity of heart, with the greatest agony of spirit. Before they parted, three believed God had fulfilled his word, and *cleansed them from all unrighteousness*. The next evening they met again, and the Lord was again present to heal the broken in heart. One received remission of sins, and three more believed God had *cleansed them from all sin*. And it is observable, these are all poor, illiterate creatures, incapable of counterfeiting, and unlikely to attempt it. *But when his word goeth forth, it giveth light and understanding to the simple."*

LXXXI. Here began that glorious work of Sanctification, which had been nearly at a stand, for twenty years. But from time to time it spread, first through various parts of Yorkshire, afterwards in London; then through most parts of England: next through Dublin, Limerick, and all the South and West of Ireland. And wherever the work of Sanctification increased, the whole work of God increased in all its branches. Many were convinced of sin; many justified; many backsliders healed. So it was in the London society in particular. In February 1761, it contained upwards of three and twenty hundred members: in 1763, above eight and twenty hundred.

LXXXII. Feb.

LXXXII. February 27, 1761, I met about thirty persons who had experienced a deep work of God. And whether they are *saved from sin*, or no, they are certainly full of faith and love.

Wednesday March 4th, ⁱ I was scarce come into the room where a few believers were met together, when one began to tremble exceedingly. She soon sunk to the floor. After a violent struggle, she burst out into prayer, which was quickly changed into praise. And she then declared, "The Lamb of God has taken away all my sins." ^k Wednesday 28th. By talking with several in Wednesbury, I found God was carrying on his work here as at London. We had ground to hope, one prisoner was set at liberty, under the sermon on Saturday morning; another, on Saturday evening. One or more received remission of sins on Sunday. On Monday morning another, and on Wednesday yet another believed *the blood of Christ had cleansed them from all sin*. In the evening I could scarce think, but more than one heard him say, *I will: be thou clean*. Indeed, so wonderfully was he present till near midnight, as if he would have healed the whole ^l congregation.

Monday 23d. Many preachers meeting me at Leeds, I enquired into the state of the Northern societies, and found the work of God was increasing on every side. Afterwards I talked with several of those who believed they were saved from sin. And after a close examination, I found reason to believe that fourteen of them were not deceived.

LXXXIII. ^m Saturday May 2d. After Mr. Hopper had spent some time there, and formed

ⁱ Vol. xxxi. page 79. ^k page 83. ^l page 88. ^m page 90.

a little

a little society, I went to Aberdeen. I preached there morning and evening, either in the College-hall or the Close, to very numerous and attentive congregations, on Sunday and the three following days. Thursday 7th, leaving near ninety members in the society, I rode over to Sir Archibald Grant's, near Monymusk, about twenty miles North-west from Aberdeen. About six I preached in the church, pretty well filled with such persons as we did not look for, so near the Highlands. I was much comforted among them; and setting out early on Friday, on Saturday reached Edinburgh.

LXXXIV. "Thursday 21st, enquiring how it was, that in all these parts, we had so few witnesses of full salvation, I constantly received one and the same answer. "We see now, we sought it by our *works*. We thought it was to come *gradually*. We never expected it to come in a moment, by simple *Faith*, in the very same manner as we received Justification." What wonder is it then, that you have been fighting all these years, *as one that beateth the air*? Monday June 22d, I spoke one by one to the society at Hutton-Rudby, near Yarm. Of about eighty members, near seventy were Believers, and I think, sixteen renewed in love. Here were two bands of children, one of boys and one of girls, most of whom were walking in the light. Four of those who seemed to be saved from sin, were of one family, and all of them walked holy and unblamable. And many instances of the same kind I found in every part of the county.

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LXXXV. ° August

LXXXV. ° August 22d, I returned to London, and found the work of God swiftly increasing. The congregations in every place were larger than they had been for several years. Many were from day to day convinced of sin. Many found peace with God. Many backsliders were healed, and filled with love. And many believers entered into such a rest, as it had not before entered into their hearts to conceive. Mean time the enemy was not wanting to sow tares among the good seed. I saw this clearly, but durst not use violence, lest in plucking up the tares, I should root up the wheat also. On Monday, September 21st, I came to Bristol. And here likewise, I found a great increase of the work of God. The congregations were exceeding large, and the people longing and thirsting after righteousness. And every day afforded us fresh instances of persons convinced of sin or converted to God. So that it seems he was pleased to pour out his Spirit this year on every part both of England and Ireland, in a manner we never had seen before; at least not for twenty years. O what pity that so many of the children of God did not know the day of their visitation!

LXXXVI. ° December 26th, I made a particular enquiry into the case of Mary Special, a young woman then living at Tottenham-Court-Road. She said, "Four years since, I found much pain in my breasts, and afterwards hard lumps. Four months ago my left breast broke, and kept running continually. Growing worse and worse, after some time, I was recommended to St. George's hospital. I was let blood many

times and took hemlock thrice a day; but I was no better. The pain and lumps were the same, and both my breasts were quite hard, and black as soot. Yesterday se'nnight I went to Mr. Owen's, where there was a meeting for prayer. Mr. B. saw me and asked, "Have you faith to be healed?" I said, "Yes." He then prayed for me, and in a moment all my pain was gone. But the next day I felt a little pain again. I clapped my hands on my breasts and cried out, "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me whole." It was gone; and from that hour I had no pain, no foreness, no lumps or swelling, but both my breasts were perfectly well, and have been so ever since."

Now here are plain facts. 1. She *was* ill. 2. She *is* well. 3. She became so in a moment. Which of these can with modesty be denied?

LXXXVII. All January, 1762, God continued to work mightily, not only in and about London, but in most parts of England and Ireland.^a February 5th, I met at noon, as usual, those who believed they were saved from sin, and warned them of the enthusiasm that was breaking in, by means of two or three weak, though good men, who through a misconstrued text in *the Revelations*, inferred, that they should not die. This gave great occasion of triumph to those that sought occasion, who rejoiced as though they had found great spoil. This year, from the beginning to the end, was a year never to be forgotten. Such a season I never saw before! Such a multitude of sinners were converted from the error of their ways, in all parts both of England and Ireland: and so many were filled with pure love!

^a Page 135.

LXXXVIII. In * April, I crossed over to Ireland, and in every part of the kingdom, North, West, and South, found cause to bless God, for the abundant increase of his work. * On July 24th, I returned to Dublin, and found the flame still increasing. The congregation was as large this evening, as it used to be on Sunday evening. Monday 26th, it was larger at five in the morning, than it used to be in the evening. And in two days and a half, four persons gave thanks for a sense of God's pardoning mercy. And seven, (among whom were a mother and her daughter) for being *perfected in love*. The person by whom chiefly it pleased God to work, was John Manners, a plain man, of middling sense, and not elegant, but rather slow of speech: one who had never before been eminently useful, but seemed to be raised up for this single work. And as soon as it was done, he fell into a consumption, languished awhile, and died.

LXXXIX. I found he had not at all exceeded the truth, in the accounts he had sent me from time to time. In one of his first letters he says, "The work here is such as I never expected to see: some are justified or sanctified almost every day. This week three or four were justified, and as many, if not more, renewed in love. The people are all on fire. Such a day as last Sunday I never saw before. While I was at prayer in the society, the power of the Lord over-shadowed us, and some cried out, 'Lord, I *can* believe!' The cry soon became general, with strong prayers. Twice I attempted to sing: but my voice could not be heard. I then desired them to restrain themselves, and in stillness and composure to

* Page 156. * Page 176.

VOL. IV.

W

wait

wait for the blessing: on which, all but two or three who could not refrain, came into a solemn silence. I prayed again, and the softening power of grace was felt in many hearts. Our congregations increased much, and I have no doubt, but we shall see greater things than these."

Four days after, he writes, "The work of God increases every day. There is hardly a day but some are justified, or sanctified, or both. On Thursday, three came and told me, *The blood of Christ had cleansed them from all sin.* One of them told me, she had been justified seven years, and had been five years convinced of the necessity of Sanctification. But this *easy* conviction availed not. A fortnight since she was seized with so keen a conviction, as gave her no rest till God had sanctified her, and witnessed it to her heart.

"The fire catches all that come near. An old soldier, in his return from Germany to the North of Ireland, fell in, one night, with these wrestling Jacobs, to his great astonishment. As he was going to Germany, in the beginning of the war, the Lord healed him in Dublin: and in spite of all the distresses of a severe campaign, he walked in the light continually. On his return through London, he was convinced of the necessity of full Sanctification. And soon after he came hither, his heart was broken in pieces, while he was with a little company, who meet daily for prayer. One evening, as they were going away, he stopped, them and begged they would not go till God had blessed him. They kneeled down again, and did not cease wrestling with God till he had a witness that he was saved from all sin."

XC. In his last letter he says, "I had much fear about the children, lest our labour should

should be lost upon them. But I find we shall reap, if we faint not. Margaret Roper, about eight years old, has been thoughtful for some time. The other day, while they were at family prayer, she burst into tears and wept bitterly. They asked, what was the matter? She said, 'She was a great sinner, and durst not pray.' They bade her go to bed. She no sooner went into the chamber, than she began crying and clapping her hands, so that they heard her across the street. But God soon bound up her broken heart. Being asked, 'How she felt herself?' She said, 'Ten times better. Now I can love God. I wish you would sit up and sing with me all night.' She has been happy ever since, and is as serious as one of forty. July 3d. Our joy is now quite full. The flame rises higher and higher. Since Saturday, eight sinners were justified, and two more renewed in love. Our house was once large enough: now it is scarce sufficient to contain us. And we have not many in the society, who are not either wrestling with God for his love, or rejoicing therein."

XCI. Upon examination, I found three or four and forty in Dublin, who enjoyed the pure love of God. At least, forty of these had attained it in four months. The same number had received remission of sins. Nor was the hand of the Lord shortened yet: he still wrought as swiftly as ever. In some respects, the work of God in this place was more remarkable than even that at London. 1. It is far greater in proportion to the time, and to the number of the people. This society is scarce a fifth part of that. Yet six months after this flame broke out here, we had about thirty witnesses of the great salvation: here were above forty in four months. 2. The

work here was more pure. In all this time there were none of them headstrong or unadvisable: none who dreamed of being immortal, or infallible, or incapable of temptation: in short, no whimsical or enthusiastic persons. All were calm and sober-minded. I know, several of these were in process of time *moved from their steadfastness*. I am nothing surprised at this: it was no more than was to be expected: I rather wonder that more were not moved. Nor does this in any degree alter my judgment, concerning the great work which God then wrought: the greatest I believe, that has been wrought in Europe, since the Reformation.

XCII. The same work was now carrying on in Limerick, of which I had several accounts. The last ran thus: "Blessed be God, since you was here, his word runs swiftly. Last night his power was present indeed, and another was assured, that God had *cleansed him from all unrighteousness*. There are now ten women and thirteen men, who witness the same confession. And their lives agree thereto. Eight have lately received the remission of their sins. And many are on the full stretch for God, and just ready to step into the pool." Hence it appears, that in proportion to the time, which was only three or four weeks, and the number of hearers, (not one half, if a third part) the work of God was greater in Limerick, than even in Dublin itself.

XCIII. 'Sunday August 1st, I landed at Parkgate, and rode on to Chester. Never was the society in such a state before. There was nothing but peace and love among them. About twelve believed they were saved from sin. Most

of the rest were strongly athirst for God, and looking for him continually. Wednesday 4th, I rode to Liverpool, where also was such a work of God as had never been known there before. There was a surprising congregation in the evening, and had been for some months. A little before I went, nine were justified in one hour. The next morning I spoke severally with those who believed they were sanctified. They were fifty-one in all; twenty-one men, twenty-one widows or married women, and nine young women or children. In one of these the change was wrought three weeks after she was justified: in three, seven days after it; in one, five days; and in Samuel Lutwich, aged fourteen, two days only. I asked Hannah Blakeley, aged eleven, "What do you want now?" She said, with amazing energy, the tears running down her cheeks, "Nothing in this world; nothing but more of my Jesus!"

XCIV. One wrote thus from Bolton in Lancashire: "Glory be to God, he is doing wonders among us. Since Mr. Furz left us, there have been seven (if not more) justified, and six sanctified at one meeting. Two of these were, I think, justified and sanctified in less than three days. O what a meeting was our last class-meeting! In three minutes or less, God quite unexpectedly convinced an old opposer of the truth, and wounded many more. I never felt the abiding presence of God so exceeding powerful before."

Enquiring how the revival began at Macclesfield, I received the following account: "In March last, after a long season of dryness and barrenness, one Monday night John Oldham preached. When he had done, and was going away,

away, a man dropped down, and cried aloud for mercy. In a short time, so did several others. He came back, and wrestled with God in prayer for them. About twelve he retired, leaving some of the brethren in prayer for them, who resolved to wrestle on, till they had an answer of peace. They continued in prayer till six in the morning, and nine prisoners were set at liberty.

They met again the next night, and six or seven more were filled with peace and joy in believing. So were one or two more every night till the Monday following, when there was another general shower of grace. And many believed, that *the blood of Christ had cleansed them from all sin*. I spoke to these, (forty in all) one by one. Some of them said, they received that blessing, ten days, some seven, some four, some three days, after they found peace with God. What marvel! Since *one day is with God as a thousand years!*

XCV. The case of Ann Hooly was peculiar. She had often declared, "The Methodist God shall not be *my* God. I will sooner go to hell, than I will go to heaven in *their* way." She was standing in the street with two young men, when John Oldham passing by, spoke to one and the other, and went on. She burst into tears, and said, "What, am I such a sinner that he will not speak to me?" About twelve he was sent for in haste. He found her in deep distress, but continued in prayer till all her trouble was gone, and her spirit rejoiced in God her Saviour. Yet three nights after, she was in much distress again, crying, "I have a wicked heart till God takes it away." He did so in a few hours. She was ever after a pattern to all the young people in the town. She was thirteen years old. In about a year her spirit returned to God.

On

On Saturday I spoke to those at Manchester, who believed God had cleansed their hearts. They were sixty-three in number: to about sixty of whom I could not find there was any reasonable objection.

XCVI. Many years ago my Brother frequently said, "Your day of Pentecost is not fully come. But I doubt not, it will. And you will then hear of persons sanctified, as frequently as you do now of persons justified." Any unprejudiced person might observe, that it was now fully come. And accordingly we did hear of persons sanctified, in London, and most other parts of England, and in Dublin, as well as most other parts of Ireland, as frequently as of persons justified: although instances of the latter were far more frequent than they had been for twenty years before. That many of these did not retain the gift of God, is no proof that it was not given them. That many do retain it to this day, is matter of praise and thanksgiving. And many of them are gone to him whom they loved, praising him with their latest breath: just in the spirit of Ann Steed, the first witness in Bristol, of the great salvation; who being worn out with sickness and racking pain, after she had commended to God all that were round her, lifted up her eyes, cried aloud, "Glory! Hallelujah!" and died.

XCVII. *Monday, December 6th, I heard George Bell pray at the Foundry. I believe part of what he said was from God; part from a heated imagination. But as he did not speak any thing dangerously wrong, I did not yet see cause to hinder him. Many of our brethren

were now taking much pains to propagate that principle, "That none can teach those who are renewed in love, unless he be in that state himself." I saw the tendency of this: but I durst take no violent step. I mentioned this to some of my friends, and told them what would be the consequence. But they could not believe it. So I let it rest: only desiring them to remember I had told them before.

Sunday 26th. That I might do nothing hastily, I permitted George Bell to be once more at West-street Chapel, and once more (on Wednesday evening) at the Foundry: but it was worse and worse. He now spoke as from God, what I knew God had not spoken. I therefore desired, he would pray there no more. I well hoped this would repress the impetuosity of a few good, but mistaken men; especially, considering the case of Benjamin Harris, the most impetuous of them all. A week or two before, as he was working in his garden, he was struck raving mad. He continued so till Tuesday, December 21st, when he lay still and sensible, but could not speak, till on Wednesday morning his spirit returned to God. I now stood and looked back on the past year; a year of uncommon trials and uncommon blessings. Abundance have been convinced of sin. Very many have found peace with God. And in London only, I believe full two hundred have been brought into glorious liberty. And yet I have had more care and trouble in six months, than in several years preceding.

CXVIII. Friday, January 7, 1763, I desired George Bell to meet me, and took much pains to convince him of his mistakes, particularly that which he had lately adopted, That the end
of

of the world was to be on February the 28th. But I could make no impression upon him. He was as unmoved as a rock.

Sunday 23d, in order to check a growing evil, I preached on, *Judge not, that ye be not judged.* But it had quite the contrary effect on many, who construed it all into a satire on George Bell. One of whose friends said, "If the devil himself had been in the pulpit, he would not have preached *such a sermon!*" All this time I had information from all quarters, that there would soon be a division in the society. But I was still in hopes, that by bearing all things, I should overcome evil with good; till on Tuesday evening the 15th, Mrs. Coventry came in, and threw down her ticket, with those of her husband, daughters, and servants, saying, "They would hear such doctrines no longer: Mr. —, preached Perfection; but Mr. Wesley pulled it down." So I did; the Perfection of George Bell, and all that abetted him. So the breach is made, the water is let out. Let those who can, gather it up. More and more persons threw up their tickets every day. And all these were zealous to gain converts to their party, chiefly by speaking all manner of evil, whereby many that did not join *them*, left us: so in a few months, above two hundred members left the society.

XCIX. Monday, February 22d, observing the terror occasioned by that wonderful prophecy, to spread far and wide, I endeavoured to draw some good therefrom, by inforcing those words at Wapping, *Seek ye the Lord while he may be found: Call upon him while he is near:* but declaring at the same time, (as I had frequently done before, "It *must* be false, if the Bible is true." The next three days I spent in transcribing

transcribing the names of the society. I found about thirty of those who were saved from sin, had left us. But above four hundred of those that witnessed the same confession, were more united than ever. Monday the 28th, preaching in the evening at Spitalfields, on *Prepare to meet thy God*, I largely shewed the utter absurdity of the supposition, That the world was to end that night. But notwithstanding all I could say, many were afraid to go to bed; and some wandered about in the fields, being persuaded, that if the world did not end, at least, London would be swallowed up by an earthquake. I went to bed at my usual time, and was fast asleep at ten o'clock.

The greatest part of this spring I was fully employed in visiting the society, and settling the minds of those who had been confused and distressed by a thousand misrepresentations. Indeed a flood of calumny and evil-speaking (as was easily foreseen) had been poured out on every side. My point was still, To go straight forward in the work whereto I am called.

C. ^w I did not leave London till the 16th of May. After spending a few days in Scotland, I returned through Newcastle, to Barnardcastle, in the county of Durham, and preached there to an exceeding numerous and deeply serious congregation. I intended after preaching, to meet the society, but the bulk of the people were so eager to hear more, that I could not forbear letting in near as many as the room would contain. Thursday, June 6th, even at five in the morning, I was obliged to preach abroad, by the numbers that flocked to hear. There is something remark-

able in the manner wherein God revived his work in this place. A few months ago, the generality of the people in this Circuit were exceeding lifeless. Samuel Meggot (now with God) perceiving this, advised the society in Barnardcastle, to observe every Friday as a day of Fasting and Prayer. The very first Friday they met together, God broke in upon them in a marvellous manner. And his work has been increasing among them ever since. The neighbouring societies heard of this, agreed to follow the same rule, and soon experienced the same blessing. Is not the neglect of this plain duty (I mean fasting, ranked by our Lord with thanksgiving and prayer) one general occasion of deadness among Christians? Can any one willingly neglect it and be guiltless?

CI. I had desired Samuel Meggot to give me some further account of the work of God at Barnardcastle. Part of his answer was as follows:

June 7, 1763.

“ Within ten weeks at least, twenty persons have found peace with God, and twenty-eight the great salvation. This morning before you left us one found peace, and one the second blessing: and after you was gone two more received it. One of these had belonged to the society before; but after he turned back, had bitterly persecuted his wife, particularly after she professed the being saved from sin. On the 29th of May, he came in a furious rage, to drag her out of the society. One cried out, ‘Let us go to prayer for him.’ Presently he ran away, and his wife went home. Not long after, he came in like a madman, and swore he would be the death of her. One said, ‘Are you not afraid, lest

lest God should smite you?' He answered, 'No; let God do his worst, I will make an end of her and the brats, and myself too, and we will go to hell together.' His wife and children fell down and broke out into prayer. His countenance changed, and he was quite as a lamb. But it was not long before a horrible dread overwhelmed him: he was sore distressed. The hand of God was upon him, and gave him no rest day or night. On Tuesday in the afternoon he went to her who prayed for him, when he came to drag his wife out, begging her, with a shower of tears, to pray for his deliverance. On Thursday he wrestled with God, till he was as wet all over with sweat, as if he had been dipped in water. But that evening God wiped away his tears, and filled him with joy unspeakable.' This morning while he was at prayer, God gave him a witness in himself, that he had purified his heart. When he rose from his knees, he could not help declaring it. He now ran to his wife, not to kill her, but to catch her in his arms, that they might weep over one another with tears of joy and love.

CII. * Wednesday, October 12th, I went to Norwich, resolved either to mend or end the society. On Friday I read the Rules of our society to the congregation, adding, "Those who will keep these Rules, and these only, may continue with us. For many years I have had more trouble with this society, than with half the societies in England put together. With God's help, I will try you one year longer, and if you bring any better fruit, I shall rejoice." The Sunday following I met the society for the first time immediately after morning preaching.

* Page 261.

Afterwards

Afterwards I went to church with a considerable number of the people, several of whom I suppose had not been within those walls for many years. In the evening God made bare his arm, and his word was sharp as any two-edged sword. And from this time I had more and more proof that our labour at Norwich had not been in vain.

CIII. Friday, November 18th, I finished the visitation of the classes in London. Here I stood and looked back on the late occurrences. Before Mr. Walth left England, God began that great work which has continued ever since, without any considerable intermission. During the whole time, many have been convinced of sin, many justified, and many backsliders healed. But the peculiar work of this season has been, what St. Paul calls, *the perfecting of the saints*. Many persons in London, Bristol, York, and in various parts both of England and Ireland, have experienced so deep and universal a change, as it had not before entered into their hearts to conceive. After a deep conviction of inbred sin, they have been in an instant filled with faith and love: sin vanished, and they found from that time, no pride, anger, desire, or unbelief. They could *rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks*. Now whether we call this the *destruction of sin* or not, it was a glorious work of God: such a work as, considering both the depth and extent of it, we never saw in these kingdoms before. 'Tis possible, some who spoke of this were mistaken, and 'tis certain some have lost what they then received. A few (very few compared to the whole number) first gave way to enthusiasm, then to pride; next to pre-

judice and offence; and at last separated from their brethren. But although this laid a huge stumbling-block in the way, yet the work of God went on. Nor has it ceased to this day in any of its branches: God still convinces, justifies, sanctifies. We lost only the dross, the enthusiasm, the prejudice and offence. The pure gold remained, *faith working by love*: yea, and increased daily.

CIV. Friday, March 30, 1764, I met those in Sheffield, who believed God had *redeemed them from all their sins*. They were about sixty in number, I could not learn, that any among them walked unworthy of their profession. Many watched over them for evil: but they overcame evil with good. I found nothing of self-conceit, stubbornness, impatience of contradiction, or enthusiasm, among them. They had learned better of him that was meek and lowly of heart, and *adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour*.

CV. ² Friday, June 8th, having visited the Southern parts of Scotland, I set out for Inverness: but I could not reach it till eight on Sunday morning: it rained much, so that I could not preach abroad; and as I knew no one in the town, and could hear of no convenient room; I knew not which way to turn. At ten I went to the High-kirk. After service, Mr. Frazer, one of the ministers, invited me to dinner, and then to drink tea. As we were drinking tea, he asked, "At what hour I would please to preach?" I said, "At half hour past five." The kirk was filled in a very short time: and I have seldom found greater liberty of spirit. The other minister came afterwards to our inn, and shewed

the most cordial affection. I preached in the morning once more; and I think, the kirk was fuller than before. And I could but observe the remarkable behaviour of the whole congregation after service. Neither man, woman, nor child, spoke one word all the way down the main street! About eleven we took horse. While we were dining at Nairn, the inn-keeper said, "Sir, the gentlemen of the town, have read the little book you gave me on Saturday, and would be glad if you would please to give them a sermon." On my consenting, the bell was immediately rung, and a large congregation assembled. What a difference is there between South and North Britain! Every one here at least, loves to *hear* the word of God. And none takes it into his head, to speak one uncivil word to any, for endeavouring to save his soul. Not long after a little society was formed at Inverness, which continues to this day.

CVI. All this, as well as the preceding year, there was a remarkable increase in most of our societies, both in England and in Ireland. I crossed over from Scotland to the North of Ireland in the beginning of May, and having traversed Ulster and Connaught, on Wednesday June 19th,^a reached Cork. On the Monday and Tuesday following, I spoke, one by one, to the members of the society. They were two hundred and ninety-five, fifty or sixty more than they had been for several years. This was owing partly to the preaching abroad, and partly to the meetings for prayer in several parts of the city. These had been the means of awakening many gross sinners, of recovering many backsliders,

^a Vol. xxxii. page 12.

and bringing many that never thought of it before, to attend the preaching at the New Room. After visiting the intermediate societies, on Thursday, July 18th, I reached Dublin, and having spent a little time very comfortably there, in the beginning of August returned to England.

CVII. ^b Sunday 8th, having heard a strange account, as soon as I came to Redruth, I sent for the person herself, Grace Paddy, a sensible young woman.* I can speak of her now without restraint, as she is safe in Abraham's bosom: she said, "I was harmless, as I thought, but quite careless about religion, till about Christmas, when my brother was saying, 'God has given me all I want: I am as happy as I can live.' This was about ten in the morning. The words struck me to the heart. I went into my chamber and thought, why am not I so? O, I cannot be, because I am not convinced of sin. I cried out vehemently, 'Lord, lay as much conviction upon me as my body can bear.' Immediately I saw myself in such a light, that I roared for the disquietness of my heart. The maid running up, I said, 'Call my brother.' He came, and rejoiced over me, and said, 'Christ is just ready to receive you, only believe;' and then went to prayer. In a short time all my trouble was gone, and I did believe. All my sins were blotted out. But in the morning I was thoroughly convinced of the want of a deeper change. I felt the remains of sin in my heart, which I longed to have taken away. I longed to be saved from all sin, to be cleansed from all unrighteousness. And all the time Mr. Rankin was preaching, this desire increased exceedingly. Afterwards he met

the society. During his last prayer, I was quite overwhelmed with the power of God. I felt an inexpressible change, in the very depth of my heart. And from that time I have felt no anger, no pride, no wrong temper of any kind; nothing contrary to the pure love of God, which I feel continually. I desire nothing but Christ: and I have Christ always reigning in my heart. I want nothing. He is my sufficient portion, in time and in eternity."

Such an instance I never knew before: such an instance I never read! A person convinced of sin, converted to God, and renewed in love, within twelve hours! Yet it is by no means incredible: seeing one day is with God as a thousand years.

CVIII. ^c Sunday, Nov. 24, I preached in London, on those words in the lesson for the day, *The Lord our righteousness*. I said not one thing which I have not said, at least, fifty times within this twelvemonth. Yet it appeared to many entirely new, who much importuned me to print my sermon, supposing it would stop the mouths of all gainfayers. Alas for their simplicity! In spite of all I can print, say, or do, will not those who *seek* occasion, *find* occasion?

CIX. ^d I went into Ireland again, in the latter end of March 1762. It was my desire, to know the real state of the work of God throughout that kingdom. And the sum of my observations was (after visiting every part of it,) There is a considerable increase of the work of God, throughout the province of Ulster. There is some increase in Connaught, particularly in Sligo, Castlebarr, and Galway. In some parts of

Leinster there is an increase: but in Munster, a land flowing with milk and honey, how amazing a change is there for the worse, within a year or two. At some places the god of this world has wholly prevailed; and those who were changed, are returned as a dog to his vomit: in others, there is but a spark of the first love left. And in Limerick itself, I found only the remembrance of the fire which was kindled two years ago!

CX. In Cork society, I left two years before, above three hundred members. I now found one hundred and eighty-seven. What occasioned so considerable a decrease? I believe the real cause was this: between two and three years ago T. Taylor and W. Penington went to Cork, who were zealous men and sound preachers. They set up meetings for prayer, in several places, and preached abroad at both ends of the city. Hearers swiftly increased. The society increased: so did the number both of the convinced and the converted. I went when the flame was at the height, and preached abroad at both ends of the city. More and more were stirred up, and there was a greater awakening here than in any part of the kingdom. But misunderstandings crept in between the leaders, and between some of them and the preachers. A flame of anger succeeded the flame of love, and many were destroyed by it. Then some of our brethren learnt a new opinion, and passionately contended for it. The Spirit of God was grieved; his blessing was withheld, and of course the flock was scattered. When they are convinced of their sin, and humbled before him, then he will return.

CXI. 'In the latter end of April, 1768, there was a remarkable work among the children at Kingswood School. One of the masters sent me a short account as follows:

Rev. and dear Sir.

April 27, 1768.

" On Wednesday the 20th, God broke in upon our boys in a surprising manner. A serious concern has been observable in some of them for some time past. But that night, while they were in their private apartments, the power of God came upon them, even as a mighty rushing wind, which made them cry aloud for mercy. Last night, I hope, will never be forgotten, when about twenty were in the utmost distress. But God quickly spoke peace to two of them, J. Glascot and T. M—. A greater display of his love I never saw: they indeed rejoice with joy unspeakable. We have no need to exhort them to prayer; for the spirit of prayer runs through the whole school. While I am writing, the cries of the boys from their several apartments are sounding in my ears. There are many still lying at the pool, who wait every moment to be put in. They are come to this, 'Lord, I will not, I cannot rest without thy love.' Since I began to write, eight more are set at liberty, and rejoice in God their Saviour; viz. John Coward, John Lion, John Maddern, John Boddily, John Thurgar, Charles Brown, William Higham, and Robert Hindmarsh. Their age is from eight to fourteen. There are but few that withstand the work, nor is it likely they should do it long. For the prayers of those that believe, seem to carry all before them. Among the colliers likewise the work of God now increases greatly. The num-

ber added to the society since the Conference, is a hundred and thirty.

"I had sealed my letter, but have opened it to inform you, that two more of our children have found peace. Several others are under deep conviction. Some of our Bristol friends are here, who are thunder-struck. This is the day we have wished for so long, the day you have had in view, which has made you go through so much opposition, for the good of these poor children.

JAMES HINDMARSH."

CXII. A few days after, one wrote thus: "I cannot help congratulating you, on the happy situation of your family here. The power of God continues to work, with almost irresistible force: and there is good reason to hope, it will not be withdrawn, till every soul is converted to God. I have had frequent opportunities of conversing alone with the boys, and find that the work has taken deep root in many hearts. The house rings with prayer and praise, and the whole behaviour of the children strongly speaks for God. The number of the new-born is increased, since you received your last information. I have been a witness of part; but the whole exceeds all that language can paint." Another writes, May 18th, "The work of God still goes on at Kingswood. Of the hundred and thirty members that have been added to the society, since the last Conference, the greater part have received justifying faith, and are still rejoicing in God their Saviour. And (what is the most remarkable) I do not know of one backslider in the place. The out-pouring of the Spirit on the children in the school has been exceeding great.

I believe,

I believe, there is not one among them, who has not been affected more or less. Twelve of them have found peace with God, and some in a very remarkable manner. These have no more doubt of the favour of God, than of their own existence. And the Lord is still with them, though not so powerfully as he was some weeks ago." Indeed I cannot doubt, but at first he wrought irresistibly; at least, on some of them: but afterwards, they might resist the grace of God, which several of them did, till they had well nigh quenched his Spirit. I fear some of them have done it altogether. 'Tis well if their last state be not worse than the first.

CXIII. 'Tuesday, August 1, 1769, our Conference began at Leeds. On Thursday I mentioned the case of our brethren at New-York. For some years past, several of our brethren from England and Ireland (and some of them preachers,) had settled in North-America, and had in various places formed societies, particularly in Philadelphia and New-York. The society at New-York had lately built a commodious preaching-house; and now desired our help, being in great want of money, but much more of preachers. Two of our preachers, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pillmoor, willingly offered themselves for the service: by whom we determined to send over fifty pounds, as a token of our brotherly love. Several others of our preachers went over in the following years. As they taught the same doctrine with their brethren here, so they used the same discipline. And the work of God prospered in their hands: so that a little before the Rebellion broke out, about two

and twenty preachers, (most of them Americans) acted in concert with each other, and near three thousand persons were united together in the American societies. These were chiefly in the provinces of Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New-York.

CXIV. ^s June 17, 1770, I met the Select Society in Whitby, consisting of sixty-five members. I believe all of these were saved from sin, and most of them still walked in glorious liberty. Many of them spoke with admirable simplicity; and their word was like fire. Immediately the fire kindled, and spread from heart to heart. At nine I met the children, most of whom *had* known the love of God. And several of them were able still to rejoice in God their Saviour. Almost as soon as I began to speak, God spoke to their hearts, and they were ill able to contain themselves. I observed one little maid in particular, who heaved and strove for some time, till at length she was constrained to yield, and broke out into strong cries and tears. In the evening I met those children only, who had tasted that the Lord is gracious. I asked her that cried so violently in the morning, what was the reason of it? She said, "I was so overwhelmed with the power and love of God that I could not hide it. A quarter of a year ago, one Saturday night, I was quite convinced I was a sinner, and afraid of dropping into hell: but on Sunday I felt the pardoning love of God. Yet I had many doubts till Monday evening, when they were all taken away in a moment. After this I saw and felt the wickedness of my heart, and longed to be delivered from it. And on Sunday

I was delivered, and had as clear a witness of this, as of my Justification. But I was some time off my watch; then it was not so clear. And people commended me, till by little and little I lost it. Indeed I still feel the love of God: but not as I did then."

CXV. ^bSaturday, Sept. 15th, I observed a very uncommon concern in the Children at Kingswood School, while I was explaining and enforcing upon them the first principles of Religion. Tuesday 18th, most of them went to see the body of Francis Evans, one of our neighbours, who died two or three days before. About seven, Mr. Hindmarsh met them all in the school, and gave an exhortation suited to the occasion. It was with great difficulty they contained themselves, till he began to pray. Then Alexander Mather, and Richard N—— cried aloud for mercy: and quickly another and another, till all but two or three, were constrained to do the same. And as long as he continued to pray, they continued the same loud and bitter cry. One of the maids, Elizabeth Nutt, was as deeply convinced as any of them. After prayer, Mr. Hindmarsh said, "Those of you that are resolved to serve God, may go and pray together." Fifteen of them did so, and continued wrestling with God, with strong cries and tears, till nine o'clock.

CXVI. Wednesday 19th, at the morning prayer, many of them cried out again, though not so violently. From this time their whole spirit and behaviour were changed: they were all serious and loving to each other. The same seriousness and mildness continued on Thursday,

^b Journal xvi. page 4.

and they walked together, talking only of the things of God. On Friday evening their concern greatly increased, so that they broke out again into strong cries. And they seemed to lose none of their concern, and spent all their spare time in prayer.

Sunday 23d, fifteen of them gave me their names, "being resolved, they said, to serve God." On Tuesday, during the time of prayer in the evening, they were affected just as the Tuesday before. The two other maids were then present, and were both cut to the heart.

CXVII. Wednesday 26th, "I rode, says Mr. Rankin, to Kingswood, and going up stairs, heard one of the children praying in the next room. When he ceased I went in, and found two others with him: just then three more came in. I went to prayer. The power of God seemed to rest upon them, and pierced their hearts with deep conviction. The next morning I spent some time with all the children, and then desired those that were resolved to save their souls, to come up stairs. Nine of them did so. While I prayed, the power of God came down, so that my voice was drowned by their cries. When I concluded, one of them broke out into prayer, in a manner that quite astonished me. And during the whole day, a peculiar spirit of seriousness rested on all the children.

CXVIII. "On Friday 28th, says Mr. Hindmarsh, when I came out into the ground, ten of the children quickly gathered round about me, earnestly asking, What they must do to be saved? Nor could I disengage myself from them, till the bell rung for dinner. All this time we observed, that the children who were most affected, learned faster and better than any of the

the rest. In the evening I explained to them the nature of the Lord's supper. I then met twelve of them apart, and spoke to each particularly. When I asked one of them, (Simon Loyd,) 'What do you want, to make you happy?' after a little pause, he answered, God. We went to prayer. Presently a cry arose from one and another, till it went through all, vehemently calling upon God, and refusing to be comforted without the knowledge and love of God. About half an hour after eight, I bade them good night, and sent them up to bed. But Loyd, Brown, and Robert Hindmarsh slept aside, being resolved not to sleep till God revealed himself to them. Some of the rest heard them pray, and one and another stole down, some half drest, some almost naked. They continued praying by turns, near three quarters of an hour, in which time four of them found peace with God. After I had prayed with them, and praised God, till half an hour past nine, I desired them to go to bed. The rest did; but those three slept away, and stayed with Richard Piercy, who was in deep agony of soul, and would by no means be persuaded to rise from his knees. The children hearing them pray, in a few minutes ran down again. They continued wrestling, with still increasing agonies and tears, till three more found peace with God. About a quarter past ten, I went to them again, and insisted upon their going to bed, which all of them did. But quickly one and another stole out of bed, till in a quarter of an hour they were all at prayer again. And the concern among them was deeper than ever, as well as more general; there being only four or five and twenty, that were not cut to the heart. How-

ever, fearing they might hurt themselves, I sent one of our maids, to persuade them to go up. But Jacky Brown, catching hold of her said, 'O Betty, seek the salvation of your soul! Seek it in earnest! It is not too late. And it is not too soon.' Immediately she fell upon her knees, and burst out into tears and strong cries. The two other maids hearing this, ran in, and were presently seized as violently as her. Jacky Brown then began praying for Betty, and continued in prayer near three quarters of an hour. By that time there was a general cry from all the maids and all the boys. This continued till past eleven. We then, with much difficulty, persuaded them to go to bed. The maids continued below in much distress. But in a quarter of an hour, Betty broke out into thanksgiving. The other two remained on their knees, praying as in an agony. I desired them to go into their own room. Yet they would not go to bed, but continued in prayer!

CXIX. "On Saturday, I was waked between four and five by the children, vehemently crying to God. The maids went to them at five. And first one of the boys, then another, then one and another of the maids, poured out their souls before God. They continued weeping and praying till near nine o'clock, not thinking about meat or drink. Nay, Richard Piercy took no food all the day, but remained in words and groans calling upon God. About nine, Diana went into her own room, and prayed, partly alone, and partly with Betty. About ten, (as Betty was praying) she sunk down as dead. But after some minutes, while Betty was praying on, she started up, praising God with all her might.

CXX. "Mary

CXX. "Mary hearing her, broke off her work, and ran into her in haste. They all remained, praying by turns till twelve, when she lay like one at the point to die. But there was not any answer to prayer, nor any deliverance. About one, all the maids and three of the boys went up stairs, and began praying again. And between two and three, Mary likewise rejoiced with joy unspeakable. They all continued till after four, praising the God of *their* salvation. Indeed they seemed to have forgotten all things else, and thought of nothing but God and heaven.

"In the evening all the maids, and many of the boys, were so hoarse they were scarce able to speak. But they were strong in the Spirit, full of love, and of joy, and peace in believing.

"Sunday 30th, eight of the children, and three maids, received the Lord's supper, for the first time. And hitherto they are all rejoicing in God, and walking worthy of the Gospel."

CXXI. Thursday, Jan. 16, 1772, I set out for Luton. Here I was offered the use of the Church. The frost was exceeding sharp, and the glass was taken out of the windows. However, for the sake of the people, I accepted the offer, though I might as well have preached in the open air. There were four or five times as many people as used to come to the room. So I did not repent of my labour. It was with great difficulty that we got through the deep snow to Hertford the next day, and I found the poor children whom Mr. A—— kept at school, were increased to about thirty boys and thirty girls: I went in immediately to the girls. Almost as soon as I began to speak, some of them burst into tears, and their emotion rose higher and higher. But it was kept within bounds till

I began to pray. A cry then arose, which spread from one to another, till almost all cried aloud for mercy, and would not be comforted. But how was the scene changed, when I went to the boys! They seemed as dead as stones, and scarce appeared to mind any thing that was said: nay, some of them could ill refrain from laughing. However, I spoke on, and set before them the terrors of the Lord. Presently one was cut to the heart: soon after, another and another; and in ten minutes, the far greater part of them were little less affected than the girls. Except at Kingswood, I have seen no such work of God upon children for above thirty years.

CXXII. ⁱ Wednesday, June 3d, I desired to speak with those in Wardale, (a valley in the county of Durham) who believed God had saved them from inward sin. They were twenty in all; ten men, eight women, and two children. Of one man, and two women, I stood in doubt. The experience of the rest was clear; particularly that of the children, Margaret Sp. aged fourteen, and Sally Bl. a year younger. Lord, let neither of these live to dishonour thee! Rather take them unspotted to thyself!

In this part of Wardale, the people in general are employed in the lead-mines. In the year 1749, Mr. Hopper and John Brown, came and preached among them. None opposed, and none asked them to eat or drink. Nevertheless, Mr. Hopper made them several more visits. In Autumn four found peace with God, and agreed to meet together. At Christmas two young men of Allendale determined to visit Wardale. Before they entered it, they kneeled down on

the snow, and besought the Lord, that he would incline some one to receive them into his house. At the first house where they called, they were bid welcome; and they staid there four days. Many were convinced, and some converted to God: one of the young men was Jacob Rowell. They made them several more visits during the winter. In summer, twenty lively people were joined together. From that time they increased gradually to thirty-five, and so continued for ten years. They increased by means of Samuel Meggot, to eighty: but four years since sunk to fifty-three. From that time they increased again, and were in August a hundred and twenty.

CXXIII. In two respects this Society has always been peculiarly remarkable: the one, they have been liberal in providing every thing needful for the preachers: the other, they have been careful to marry with each other, and that not for the sake of money, but virtue. Hence they assisted each other in bringing up their children: and God has eminently blessed them therein. For in most of their families, the greatest part of their children above ten years old, are converted to God. It was observed too, that the leaders were upright men and truly alive to God. And even when they had no preacher with them, they met every night for singing and prayer.

CXXIV. Last summer the work of God revived and gradually increased till the end of November. Then God made bare his arm. Those who were strangers to God, felt as it were, a sword in their bones. Those who knew God, were filled with joy unspeakable. The convictions that seized the unawakened, were generally exceeding deep: so that their cries drowned

every other voice, and no other means could be used, than the speaking to the distressed, one by one, and encouraging them to lay hold on Christ. And this was not in vain. Many that were either on their knees, or prostrate on the ground, suddenly started up, and their very countenance shewed, that the Comforter was come. Immediately these began to go about from one to another of those that were still in distress, praying to God, and exhorting them without delay to come to so gracious a Saviour. Many who then appeared quite unconcerned, were thereby cut to the heart, and suddenly filled with such anguish, as extorted loud and bitter cries. By such a succession of persons mourning and rejoicing, they were frequently detained great part of the night.

CXXV. "On Sunday afternoon, Dec. 1st, as William Hunter was preaching," (this is the account given by the Leader,) "the power of God fell on the congregation, in a wonderful manner. Many being cut to the heart, cried aloud for mercy, and ten were added to the society. On Tuesday evening we met at six, but could not part till ten. Four found peace with God, and ran from one to another, exhorting them to believe in Christ. On Wednesday night many were deeply distressed, but none set at liberty. While we were meeting on Thursday night, two were enabled to rejoice in God their Saviour. On Saturday night we met at six, and three of us sung and prayed. But before the third had done, his voice could not be heard for the cries of the people. Seven of these soon arose, blessing and praising God, and went about encouraging others. Many hardened sinners were much affected thereby, and began to cry as
loud

loud as they had done: so that we had nothing to do, but to stand and see the wonderful work of God. And O! how dreadful, yet pleasing was the sight? All this time many were crying for mercy. Among these were four young men, who remained on their knees five hours together. We endeavoured to break up the meeting at ten; but the people would not go: so that we were constrained to continue till twelve: near this time one was asked, "What he thought of this?" He answered, "I wish it may be all real." He then turned to go home; but after taking a few steps, began to cry aloud for mercy. He cried till his strength was quite gone; and then lay as one dead, till about four o'clock in the morning: then God revealed his Son in his heart. During this meeting, eleven persons found peace with God.

CXXVI. "On Sunday morning we met at the common hour, and three of us sung and prayed as usual, till our voice was drowned by the thanksgiving of the new converts, and the cries of convinced sinners. Among the rest an ancient woman was so struck, that she vehemently cried out, 'Mercy, mercy! O what a sinner am I! I was the first that received them into my house in Wardale, and have heard them almost these thirty years. O pray for me; mercy, mercy!' It was not long before she found mercy, and mightily rejoiced in God her Saviour. And about the same time another mourner passed from death unto life.

"We met again at two, and abundance of people came from various parts, being alarmed by some confused reports. We sung and prayed; and the power of God descended. A young man who had been deeply wounded in the morning,
now

now found one mighty to heal. We then concluded: but many of the people came in again, and others stayed at the door. Among those who came in, was one who had been remarkably profligate. He cried for mercy with all his might: several crowded about to see him. And before we parted, not only he, but five more were rejoicing and praising God together. We met together on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and by that time, nine more found peace.

“ Mr. Rowell came on Tuesday, stayed three days, and joined many new members. Three and thirty of these had found peace with God, as did five more in the week following. When Mr. Watson came, he joined many more, eleven of whom were justified. At our meeting on Tuesday, eleven more were filled with the peace of God. Yet one young man seemed quite unconcerned. But suddenly the power of God fell upon him: he cried for two hours with all his might, and then the Lord set his soul at liberty. On Saturday a few met at Mr. Hunter's room, who were athirst for full sanctification. For this they wrestled with God, till a young man found the blessing, as several others have done since. We have ever since continued our meetings, and God has continued his loving kindness toward us. So that above a hundred and twenty are added to the society, above a hundred of whom are believers.”

CXXXVII. I left John Fenwick on Friday, June 5th, to examine the society one by one. This he did on Friday and Saturday. The account of what ensued, he gave in the following words:

“ On Saturday evening God was present through the whole service, but especially towards the
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the conclusion. Then one and another dropped down, till six lay on the ground together, roaring for the disquietude of their hearts. Observing many to be quite amazed at this, I besought them to stand still, and see the salvation of God. But the cry of the distressed soon drowned my voice: so I dismissed the congregation. About half of them went away. I continued to pray with the rest, when my voice could be heard; when it could not, I prayed without a voice, till after ten o'clock. In this time, four of those poor mourners were clothed with the robes of praise.

“The society now consists of a hundred and sixty-five members: of whom there are but twenty, that have not found peace with God. Surely such a work of God has not been seen before in any part of the three kingdoms.

“Forty-three of these are children, thirty of whom are rejoicing in the love of God. The chief instrument God has used among these is, Jane Salkeld, a young woman, a school-mistress, who is a pattern to all that believe. A few of her children are, Phebe Fetherstone, nine years and a half old, a child of uncommon understanding: Hannah Watson, ten years old, full of faith and love; Aaron Ridson, not eleven years old, but wise and stayed as a man: Sarah Smith, eight years and a half old, but as serious as a woman of fifty. Sarah Morris, fourteen years of age, is as a mother among them, always serious, always watching over the rest, and building them up in love.

“Mention was made of four young men, who were affected on the second Wednesday in December. These hearing of the roaring of the people, came out of mere curiosity. That evening six were wounded and fell to the ground, crying aloud

aloud for mercy. One of them hearing the cry, rushed through the crowd, to see what was the matter. He was no sooner got to the place, than he dropped down himself, and cried as loud as any. The other three rushing on, one after another, were struck just in the same manner. And indeed all of them were in such agonies, that many feared they were struck with death. But all the ten were fully delivered, before the meeting concluded, which indeed was not till four in the morning."

CXXVIII. I waited a few days, before I set down what had lately occurred among the children at Kingswood. From the time God visited them last, several of them retained a measure of the fear of God. But they grew colder and colder, till Ralph Mather^k met them in the latter end of August. Several then resolved to meet in class again, and appeared to have good desires. On Saturday, Sept. 4th, he talked with three of them, about four in the afternoon. These freely confessed their besetting sins, and appeared to be greatly humbled. At five all the children met in the school. During an exhortation then given, first one, then two or three were much affected. Afterwards, two more were taken apart, who were soon deeply distressed; and one of them (James Whitestone,) in less than half an hour, found a clear sense of the love of God. Near seven, they came down to the boys in the school; and Mr. Mather asked, "Which of you will serve God?" They all seemed to be thunderstruck, and ten or twelve fell down upon their knees. Mr. Mather prayed, and then James Whitestone. Immediately one

^k Poor Ralph Mather, what is he now!

and another cried out, which brought in the other boys, who seemed struck more and more, till about thirty were kneeling and praying at once. Before half past nine, ten of them knew that they were accepted in the beloved. Several more were brought to the birth; and all the children, but three or four were affected more or less.

Sunday 5th, I examined sixteen of them who desired to partake of the Lord's supper. Nine or ten had a clear sense of the pardoning love of God. The others were fully determined never to rest, till they could witness the same confession.

Eighteen of the children from this time met in three bands, besides twelve who met in trial bands. These were remarkable for their love to each other, as well as for steady seriousness. They met every day: beside which, all the children met in class.

Those who found peace were, James White-stone, Alexander Mather, Matthew Lowes, William Snowdon, John Keil, Charles Farr, John Hamilton, Benjamin Harris, and Edward Keil.

Monday 6th. After Mr. Mather had preached at Pensford, he met the children there. Presently the spirit of conviction fell upon them, and then the spirit of grace and of supplication, till the greater part of them were crying together for mercy, with a loud and bitter cry. And all Miss Owen's children but one, (two and twenty in number) were exceedingly comforted.

CXXIX. Friday 10th, I went over to Kingswood, and enquired into the present state of the children. I found part of them had walked closely with God; part had not, and were in heaviness.

heaviness. Hearing in the evening, that they were got to prayer by themselves in the school, I went down; but not being willing to disturb them, I stood at the window. Two or three had gone in first; then more and more, till above thirty were gathered together. Such a sight I never saw before, or since: three or four stood and stared as if affrighted. The rest were all on their knees, pouring out their souls before God, in a manner not easy to be described. Sometimes one, sometimes more, prayed aloud: sometimes a cry went up from them all: till five or six of them who were in doubts before, saw the clear light of God's countenance.

Saturday 12th, four of Miss Owen's children, desired leave to partake of the Lord's supper. I talked with them severally, and found they were all still rejoicing in the love of God. And they confirmed the account, that "there was only one of their whole number, who was unaffected on Monday: but all the rest could then say with confidence, Lord thou knowest that I love thee." I suppose such a visitation of children, has not been known in England these hundred years! In so marvellous a manner, *Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, God has perfected praise.*

CXXX. Tuesday, June 13, 1775. I was not very well in the morning, but supposed it would soon go off. In the afternoon, the weather being extremely hot, I lay down on the grass in Mr. Lark's orchard, at Cockhill. This I had been accustomed to do for forty years, and never remember to have been hurt by it. Only I never before lay on my face, in which posture I fell asleep. I waked, a little and but a little out of order, and preached with ease to a multitude of people.

people. Afterwards I was a good deal worse. However the next day I went on a few miles to *the Grange*. The table was placed here in such a manner, that all the time I was preaching, a strong and sharp wind blew full on the left side of my head. And it was not without a good deal of difficulty, that I made an end of my sermon. I now found a deep obstruction in my breast: my pulse was exceeding weak and low. I shivered with cold, though the air was sultry hot, only now and then burning for a few minutes. I went early to bed, drank a draught of treacle and water, and applied treacle to the soles of my feet. I lay till seven on Thursday the 15th, and then felt considerably better. But I found nearly the same obstruction in my breast: I had a low, weak pulse; I burned and shivered by turns, and if I ventured to cough, it jarred my head exceedingly. In going to Derry-Anvill, I wondered what was the matter, that I could not attend to what I was reading; no, not for three minutes together, but my thoughts were perpetually shifting. Yet all the time I was preaching in the evening, (although I stood in the open air, with the wind whistling round my head) my mind was as composed as ever. Friday 16th, ingoing to Lurgan, I was again surprised, that I could not fix my attention on what I read: yet while I was preaching in the evening on the Parade, I found my mind perfectly composed; although it rained a great part of the time, which did not well agree with my head. Saturday 17th, I was persuaded to send for Dr. Laws, a sensible and skilful Physician. He told me, "I was in a high Fever, and advised me to lay by." But I told him, "That could not be done; as I had appointed to preach

at several places, and must preach as long as I could speak." He then prescribed a cooling Draught, with a grain or two of Camphire, as my nerves were universally agitated. This I took with me to Tandragee: but when I came there, I was not able to preach, my understanding being quite confused, and my strength entirely gone. Yet I breathed freely, and had not the least thirst, nor any pain from head to foot.

I was now at a full stand, whether to aim at Lisburn, or to push forward for Dublin. But my friends doubting, whether I could bear so long a journey, I went straight to Derry-Aghy, a Gentleman's seat on the side of a hill, three miles beyond Lisburn. Here nature sunk, and I took my bed: but I could no more turn myself therein, than a new-born child. My memory failed as well as my strength, and well nigh my understanding. Only those words ran in my mind, when I saw Miss Gayer on one side of the bed, looking at her mother on the other,

"She sat like Patience on a Monument
Smiling at Grief."

But still I had no thirst, no difficulty of breathing, no pain from head to foot.

I can give no account of what followed for two or three days, being more dead than alive. Only I remember it was difficult for me to speak, my throat being exceeding dry. But Joseph Bradford tells me, I said on Wednesday, "It will be determined before this time to-morrow;" that my tongue was much swoln, and as black as a coal; that I was convulsed all over, and that for some time my heart did not beat perceptibly, neither was there any pulse discernible.

In the night of Thursday 22d, Joseph Bradford came to me with a cup and said, "Sir, you
must

must take this." I thought, "I will, if I can swallow, to please him; for it will do me neither harm nor good." Immediately it set me a vomiting; my heart began to beat, and my pulse to play again. And from that hour, the extremity of the symptoms abated. The next day I sat up several hours, and walked four or five times across the room. On Saturday I sat up all day, and walked across the room many times without any weariness. On Sunday I came down stairs, and sat several hours in the parlour. On Monday I walked out before the house: on Tuesday I took an airing in the chaise: and on Wednesday, trusting in God, to the astonishment of my friends, I set out for Dublin.

I did not determine how far to go that day, not knowing how my strength would hold out. But finding myself no worse at Bannbridge, I ventured on to Newry. And after travelling thirty (English) miles, I was stronger than in the morning.

Thursday 29th, I went to *the Man of War*, forty (Irish) miles from the Globe at Newry.

Friday 30th, we met Mr. Simpson, (with several other friends) coming to meet us at Drogheda, who took us to his country-seat at James-Town, about two miles from Dublin.

Tuesday, July 4th, finding myself a little stronger, I preached for the first time; and I believe most could hear. I preached on Wednesday again, and my voice was clear, though weak. So on Sunday I ventured to preach twice, and found no weariness at all. Monday 10th, I began my regular course of preaching morning and evening.

CXXXI. From this time, I have by the grace of God gone on, in the same track, travelling

between four and five thousand miles a year, and once in two years going through Great Britain and Ireland: which, by the blessing of God, I am as well able to do now as I was twenty or thirty years ago. About a hundred and thirty of my fellow-labourers are continually employed in the same thing. We all aim at one point, (as we did from the hour, when we first engaged in the work :) Not at profit, any more than at ease, or pleasure, or the praise of men: but to spread true Religion through London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and, as we are able, through the three kingdoms; that truly rational Religion, which is taught and prescribed in the Old and New Testament; namely, The Love of God and our Neighbour, filling the heart with Humility, Meekness, Contentedness, and teaching us, on the one hand, whatever we do, to do it all to the glory of God; and, on the other, to do unto every man what we would they should do unto us. This is our point. We leave every man to enjoy his own opinion, and to use his own mode of worship, desiring only that the Love of God and his Neighbour be the ruling principle in his heart, and shew itself in his life by an uniform practice of Justice, Mercy, and Truth. And accordingly we give the right hand of fellowship to every lover of God and man, whatever his Opinion or Mode of worship be; of which he is to give an account to God only.

CXXXII. This is *the way* (called *Herefy* by Dr. M'Lean and others,) *according to which we worship the God of our fathers.* And we have known some thousands who walked therein, till their spirits returned to God. Some thousands likewise we now know who are walking in the same path of love, and studying to have a conscience

science void of offence towards God and towards man. All these as they fear God, so they honour the King, who *is the minister of God unto them for good.* They *submit themselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake.* Mean time they expect, that men should *say all manner of evil against them, for their Master's sake.* But they have counted the cost, and are willing to be *as the filth and offscouring of the world.* Yea, they have many times shewn, that they *counted not their lives dear unto themselves, so they might finish their course with joy, and testify the gospel of the grace of God.*

LONDON,

November 16, 1781.

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- Zanchius*, Jerome, revives the controversy concerning Predestination at Strasburg, iii. 234.
- Zealand*, clergy and magistrates of, oppose the toleration of the Mennonites, iii. 281.
- Zeno*, the Emperor, publishes his Henoticon for reconciliation, i. 244.
- Zinzendorf*, Count, founds the sect of the Herenutters, iv. 165.
- Ziska*, the head of the Hussites, iii. 40; though blind, discovers in his conduct great intrepidity tempered with prudence, *ibid.*
- Zonaras*, John, his character, ii. 172; works, 198.
- Zosimus*, Pope, first protects, and then condemns Pelagius and Cælestius, i. 247.
- Zuingli*, Ulric, begins the Reformation in Switzerland, iii. 76; his character and zeal, *ibid.* differed from Luther in several points, 228; controversy with him about the Eucharist, 229; his example followed by Oecolampadius, and both opposed by Luther, *ibid.* conference between him and Luther, *ibid.* his doctrine and discipline altered by Calvin in three points, 238.

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Zurich, war between the Protestants of this place and the Roman Catholics, iii. 230; church established here obstinately maintained Zuingli's doctrine of the Eucharist, and opposed Calvin's notions of Predestination, 240, 241.

THE END.



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